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STUDIES
in
THE HISTORICAL & CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY
and
ETHNOGRAPHY OF GUJARAT

(Places and Peoples in Inscriptions of Gujarat: 300 B.C.-1300 A.D.)

BY
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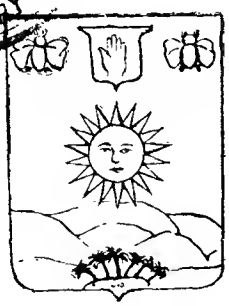

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THAKKAR VASSONJI MADHAVJI LECTURES

1944

University of Bombay

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To

F. J. RICHARDS, M. A., I. C. S. (Retd.),

My Teacher in the University College, London.

INTRODUCTION

These lectures were delivered under the auspices of the University of Bombay, by invitation, under the Thakkar Vassonji Foundation, in November 1944 and were to be published by the University. Owing to the war and the rising cost of paper and printing, the University could not do so all these years. At the writer's request the University authorities have now permitted the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, to publish the lectures on certain conditions. He is grateful to the University for granting permission and to the Director of the Institute for including the lectures among its publications.

Though the material of these lectures was collected several years ago, it was worked out at the Institute. Here the writer had the benefit of Dr. S. M. KATRE's advice at every stage of his work, particularly in the study of the linguistic aspect of modern and ancient place-names. The writer is keenly aware of his obligations to him for his help and takes this opportunity to show him his gratitude. He is also thankful to Dr. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI of the Calcutta University for going through the lectures after they were delivered and making several suggestions. All these have been acknowledged in the foot-notes. Likewise he has to thank Professors Khan Bahadur A. K. SHAIKH and C. H. SHAIKH for elucidating the etymology of certain Arabic and Persian words.

The writer is also highly indebted to the Political Secretary, Baroda State, for lending the Gujarati Census Reports of the State, and to Professor G. H. BHATT for obtaining for him an old map of Gujarat. But for the help from these sources, the reconstruction of the old territorial units in Caulukyan Gujarat would have been almost impossible. Had similar data been available from other States in Gujarat and Kathiawar it would have been possible to reconstruct, to some extent, the territorial units prevalent under the earlier dynasties.

The second lecture was illustrated with a specially prepared map, showing the reconstrucion of the *Sārasvata Maṇḍala* of the Caulukya

period and its relation to the present-day Mehsana *Prānt*. The map showing the reconstruction of the Caulukya Empire as well as the one dealing with the distribution of ancient place-names suffixes and their modern equivalents was prepared later. For the present the latter explains only the place-names comprised within the territory of H. H. the GAEKWAD of Baroda. It does not include those in the British Districts and other States. For, no suitable Gujarati maps and directories of these areas have yet been available. Though it is hoped to fill up this deficiency in the near future, as a sample survey the map adequately explains the place-name suffix peculiarities and physiographic features of different parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar. The final copies of these maps were prepared from the writer's originals by Messrs. S. M. KETKAR and ZAINUDDIN SHAIKH respectively. The writer very much appreciates their interest in such work and is thankful to them for their assistance. He is also thankful to Pilu F. VAKHARIA for her help in preparing the footnotes for the press.

The names of *Brāhmaṇas* and places from Gurjjara, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, Maitraka and other pre-Caulukya records had been listed and arranged in the form of appendices. For fear of increasing the bulk of the book, and because not many of these place-names have been identified, they have not been published. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the grant-in-aid received by him from the University towards the cost of this book.

Sri Aurobindo Ashram, H. D. S.
Pondicherry.
20th May, 1948

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona
AIOCR	All India Oriental Congress Reports
AOR	Annals of Oriental Research, Madras University
BDCRI	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona
BPSI	Bhavanagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris
CII	Corpus Inscriptionus Indicarum
EC	Epigraphia Caranatica
EI	Epigraphia Indica
GOS	Gaekwad Oriental Series
HIG	Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat by G. V. Acharya, Bombay
IA	Indian Antiquary
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JA	Journal Asiatique
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of R.A.S.
JBU	Journal of the Bombay University
JDL	Journal Department of Letters, Calcutta University
JGRS	Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Bombay
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
JUPHS	Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society
JVS	Journal of Vedic Studies
NIA	New Indian Antiquary
PO	Poona Orientalist
RLARBP	Revised List Antiquarian Remains Bombay Presidency

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Lecture I

NATURE OF THE SUBJECTS AND SOURCES

Previous Series of Lectures

THE Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectureship is a comparatively young lectureship, particularly when we think of the Wilson Philological Lectureship founded in this University in 1877. Though thus 50 years younger than the Wilson, The Thakkar Lectureship, since its inception in 1929 due to the donation of Rs. 35,000 from the estate of the late Mr. Vassonji Madhavji for the purpose of encouraging studies in Gujarati literature and history, has attracted a number of scholars. The late Prof. N. B. DIVATIA gave these lectures for the first time in 1930 on "Gujarati Literature". Mr. DIVATIA was followed by Dewan Bahadur K. H. DHRUVA who lectured on "The Evolution of Verse in Gujarati Literature". In 1931-32 Khan Bahadur Prof. M. S. COMMISSARIAT spoke on certain aspects of Late Mughal Rule in Gujarat. Muni JINAVIJAYAJI confined himself next year to the geographical, political and cultural aspects of Gujarat. Since 1933,[1] excepting Mr. MUNSHI's lectures on "The Early Aryans in Gujarat", the lectures in this series have been delivered on some aspects of Gujarati literature. As considerable original work was done in this literature, it naturally dominated the field.

When the University invited a worker like me to deliver a course of five lectures in this series, I thought that the University wanted that there

[1] Other lectures in the series were: Dewan Bahadur K. M. JHAVERI, "The Present State of Gujarati Literature (1933-34); Prof. B. K. THAKORE, "Narmad, Kalapi and Govardhanram" (1934-35); Prof. R. V. PATHAK, "Tendencies in Modern Gujarati Literature" (1935-36); Mr. A. F. KHABARDAR, "The Art of Composition in Gujarati Poetry" (1937-38); Pandit Bechardas DOSHI, "The Development of Gujarati Language" (1938-39); Mr. Ramanlal V. DESAI, "Gujarati Literature" (1939-40); Mr. J. E. SANJANA, "Gujarati Literature" (1940-41); Mr. Jhaverchand K. MEGHANI, "Gujarati Folk Literature" (1941-42).

should be some change in the subject, for otherwise there were a number of other distinguished Gujarati scholars, much older than myself, who could have stepped into my place today.

Why not archaeological subject ?

If the University expected me to speak on some aspects of archaeology of Gujarat, I think I would disappoint them. For though I have been a student of Gujarat's prehistoric and historic archaeology, I have not selected for this series any aspect of the archaeology of Gujarat. This is due to a number of reasons. In the first place, what I have to say on Gujarat's historic archaeology is already published; those interested in it can well refer to my book. My recent work on pre-historic archaeology of Gujarat, accomplished with the assistance of two colleagues Dr. B. K. CHATTERJEE and Mr. V. D. KRISHNASWAMI and with the financial support of the University of Bombay is about to be published by the Baroda Government.[1] It was thus with a desire not to repeat what has been published or is about to be published that I do not wish to speak today on any aspect of the archaeology of Gujarat.

Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat

Some hitherto untrodden field in Gujarat history or culture had to be chosen. And I thought of "the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat" or "Peoples and Places in Gujarat Inscriptions".

The study of place-names as well as those of peoples mentioned in inscriptions has not been attempted so far in the manner in which I have done. Therefore before I refer to what has been done in these subjects in Gujarat or in India, I would explain to you what I mean by the "Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat".

What is Geography?

Geography, as is now well known, does not mean a knowledge merely of the physical forms of the earth's surface. In its widest and fullest significance it is a science of the earth's surface, form, physical features,

[1] See *Investigations into Prehistoric Archaeology of Gujarat*, Shri Pratapa Simha Rajyabhisheka Granthamala, Memoir No. IV, 1946.

natural and political divisions, climate, productions, population etc. Thus depending on the emphasis laid on its various aspects, we have physical geography, political geography, economic geography, mathematical geography and so on and so forth.

Cultural Geography of Gujarat

By "Cultural Geography of Gujarat" I have in view a knowledge of the political and administrative divisions of Gujarat, a knowledge of the significance of the place-names, modern and ancient, a knowledge of the distribution of population as gathered from the number and situation of villages, a knowledge of the language in which the place-names are given in inscriptions.

What I aim at and expect from a study of inscriptional place-names can be best explained by a few illustrations.

Necessity for Study of Inscriptional Place-names

Let me take first the question of political and administrative or territorial units now discussed in India. We all know that the modern provinces are not grouped or formed on any cultural basis—linguistic, racial or otherwise. They all grew up as administrative necessity dictated. The major divisions of a province are called districts (*jillās*) zila, and the minor sub-divisions are called *tālukās* or *mahāls*. The former comes into the English language from the original Latin word *districtus*, whereas the words *tālukā* and *mahāla* have been inherited from the Muslim rulers of India. These foreign influences have been so great, that none of us perhaps could give a pre-Muslim name for a unit corresponding roughly to a *tālukā*. It is, therefore, worth investigating what the ancient territorial divisions were, whether they were made on linguistic or fiscal and administrative basis, and what their limits were. How far the natural boundaries, such as rivers and mountains, were taken into consideration in defining a unit like a *tālukā*, a district or a province.

These investigations have been attempted by identifying most of the place-names occurring in the inscriptions of the Caulukyas or Solankis of Gujarat. Likewise an interpretation of the place-names, both ancient as well as their modern equivalents, has also been attempted. The necessity and urgency of such a study require no emphasis.

Perhaps a few persons of the modern generation know how Bombay was originally so called and why and what were the real names of places which are called Benares, Muttra, Baroda etc. If by some ill-luck, all our Indian indigenous records are lost, and records giving only the modern anglicised versions of place-names remain, we shall have after a few centuries, some funny explanations of the name of Bombay. Even now when I hear an Anglo-Indian or Indian Christian calling *Bhāyakhālā* as "Byculla", *Kalyāṇa* as "Kelyan" my feelings revolt though I know that we are all guilty in some way or other when we have discarded *Mumbaī* and adopted "Bombay". But it is this one word *Mumbaī* which, if it survives, will tell the future generations that the present Bombay was originally a fishing village inhabited by the Kolis, who called a part of the island *Mumbaī* after their family or village goddess *Mumbādevī* (*Mumbaī*)![1] Thus Baroda comes from *Vaḍodarā*, which is derived from Vatapadra—a place having a *Vaṭa* (Banian) tree. Now what does this signify? A belief in or worship of trees, supposed to be a non-Aryan custom, or is it something else? or nothing, merely a name?

For a proper understanding of these things, a study of the prefixes and the suffixes as well as the study of the body proper of the place-name is required. When such studies are made and the places plotted on a map, certain regional or geographic groups will stand out. These when correlated with our knowledge of the religions, customs and ethnic groups existing in these areas will lead perhaps to the understanding of either, or to some other knowledge.

It is not unlikely that such studies will bring to light the ethnographic basis of the place-names, and thus lead to the ethnographic or ethnic distribution of the people and their original religious beliefs.

Similarly a study of the place-names from linguistic point of view may inform us of the actual language spoken and written by the people and the political and cultural forces that existed during the period, or of various elements that go to form the present language. Further a

[1] Dr. B. A. SALETORE has attempted a novel explanation of the word. But it is based on an incorrect and careless reading of an English translation of the *Mirat-I-Ahmadi* and subsequent wrong deductions. See *JUB*, January 1944, 1-9 and my refutation of it. *Ibid.* January 1947.

comparison of the ancient place-names with their modern equivalents will point out not only the linguistic reasons that have been responsible for their modern equivalents but such a linguistic study of place-names might also reveal the form of ancient Gujarati and its development. Let me take again the example of 'Bombay'. We Indians call it *Mumbaī*, *Bambaī*, and its anglicised form is *Bombay*. The word *Bombay* will point to a future student of historical linguistics not only its political import, but the linguistic and the racial causes or factors that contributed to the coining of the word "Bombay". In a similar way I have tried to interpret the old names by identifying and comparing them with their modern equivalents.

Cultural Ethnography

Let me now explain what I mean by the word "Cultural Ethnography." Ethnography and Ethnology in their strictest sense pertain to a scientific description of races of men, their characteristics and their relation to one another. It must at once be conceded that I do not propose to attempt such a scientific description of the ancient peoples of Gujarat or their physical characteristics. What I aim at is an insight into the formation and characteristics of the various *varṇas* and castes, their mutual relationship, their religious beliefs and customs by an examination of the names of the people occurring in inscriptions, in conjunction with their *gotras*, profession, position in society and the religion they profess; their places of residence and the places to which they migrated. Such an enquiry may justly be described "Studies in Cultural Ethnography", because it is an attempt to systematize the scattered information about certain people and their cultural characteristics as opposed to their physical characteristics, by the utilization of cultural descriptions and not by a study of material culture.

Significance of Personal Names

My point of view can be best explained by taking a few examples from our modern life. As I have said elsewhere, while studying the personal names of the ancient Deccan, that personal names have a cultural significance, though usually these names being proper names are regarded non-connotative or having the least connotation. Very often they are significant names. The names may signify the religion

or religious tendencies of the persons bearing the names or of the age; they may also signify the prevailing political and social conditions—customs and fashions—of the time. To take a few concrete instances from our own history. The name 'Jawahar' may have been common among the Hindus of U. P., long before the Civil Disobedience Movement, but it is only since the rise of this movement that it has become common in Gujarat. Likewise names of flowers and seasons borne by many boys and girls among the present Gujarati generation can be traced to the influence of Bengali contact through revival of interest in Sanskrit literature, national movements and lastly the cinema. Previous to this, some 30 years ago, names in the Gujarati Bania community were given after the names of virtues: *Dhīraj*, *Śānti*, or auspicious occasion (*Maṅgal*), or gems: *Mānek* (ruby), *Motī*, *Hirā* etc. A future historian writing about our own times is sure to be struck by the great cultural divergence in the names of the boys and girls of the present generation and those of their fathers and mothers. And even if most of the material of our period perishes and only the names remain he will be able to arrive at some conclusion regarding the cultural movements of our age.

The names of the boys and girls and surnames of the present generation will not help in understanding the caste, *varṇa* or religion to which he or she belongs. For these have well-nigh disappeared and are fast disappearing and few care to preserve such traces. The names and surnames will at the most reveal to a future student the great political forces passing through the country. But what will he make out of such names as *Aśoka Harṣa*? Perhaps he might regard such a person super-Buddhist, a great *Kṣatriya*, in absence of any other evidence.

Fortunately we are not likely to commit such an error, because the people (I propose to study) have taken care to leave data which can control our deductions. Of course this will be to the extent to which race mixture (*varṇasaṁkara*) had not taken place, depending upon the political, social and cultural influences of the respective periods under review. For as MM. P. V. KANE[1] has shown, even before the time of *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* (c. 100 B. C.—100 A. D.), numberless

[1] *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II. 1. 58.

castes and sub-castes had been formed. And the idea of *varṇa* which was originally based on race, character, culture and profession, was gradually replaced by the system of *jāti* (caste). This laid emphasis on birth and heredity. The word *jāti* in the sense of caste hardly ever occurs in the Vedic literature. But it can be traced back through later works to the *Nirukta* where the term '*Kṛṣṇajātiya*' occurs.[1]

It is the aim of these studies to trace this development of caste through epigraphic evidence. Its value, I find, was anticipated by Dr. GHURYE when he said,[2] "The idealistic point of view on caste system is provided by writers like *Hemādri*, while the inscriptions and travellers' accounts reveal some of the realities of the times."

Results expected from such a Study

In this examination of the names of kings and peoples from the earliest times (about 300 B. C. to 1300 A. D.) we can have some idea of

(1) the religious forces prevailing at certain periods,
(2) the names and their relation to laws on naming and caste, religion of the people and profession,
(3) the original habitat of certain present-day castes and their probable ethnic origin, and
(4) the probable origin of certain surnames.

Place-Name Study Outside India

Such a study of place-names and names of people has not been attempted before in India. In Western countries, however, specially in Scandinavia and England as also in America, place-name study has received considerable attention. Almost every county of England has a book devoted to the study of its names. These have made manifest not only the various political and cultural factors that lie behind a certain place-name, but have also pointed to the hidden archaeological importance of the place. I expect similar results to follow from the study of place-names in India.

[1] *History of Dharmaśāstra*, p. 55; ROTH, *Yāska's Nirukta*, 173.
[2] *Caste and Race in India*. 39.

In India

In India, though large scale studies of place-names have only recently been undertaken, some of the old scholars, FLEET and BUEHLER in particular, had pointed out the importance of preparing a historical geography from the identification of place-names mentioned in inscriptions. These suggestions have remained unheeded partly for want of initiative on our part, and partly for want of suitable facilities. Linguistic interpretation of place-names and their cultural significance was dealt at some length by Dr. S. K. CHATTERJI[1]. His pupil, Krishnapada GOSWAMI[2] has followed up this study in great detail, but his study does not envisage the reconstruction of political geography and other aspects. Mr. Setti PILLAI[3] seems to deal with modern South Indian place-names only; whereas Messers BHAYANI[4] and SANDESARA[5] have confined themselves to a linguistic study of certain names in Gujarat. SANDESARA has tried to explain the suffix or ending in certain groups of place-names which were merely touched by Prof. DIVATIA in his Wilson Philological Lectures. This attempt, though on a very small scale, to understand the modern place-names in Gujarat is welcome. It shows that such studies when not based upon the identification of ancient place-names do not yield the desired result. When a modern name is examined merely from a linguistic point of view, its real historical evolution cannot be satisfactorily traced, for we have no known ancient data to compare with. It is, therefore, of prime importance that a given name must be identified with certainty, not merely on the ground of similarity of names, but with respect to its position as mentioned in an ancient record.

After this identification is obtained, the names should be studied by a historian and a student of linguistics. Then only full justice can be done to the subject.

[1] *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, I. 64-67, 68, 74, and 179-88.
[2] *Journal Department of Letters*, University of Calcutta, 1943, 1-70.
[3] *Annals of Oriental Research*, University of Madras, IV. (1939-40), 24-36; V (1940-41). 1-34.
[4] *Journal Gujarat Research Society*, IV (1942), 119-29.
[5] *Ibid.* V. (1943). 148-56; 157-58.

Before I discuss my data and conclusions it is necessary to give an idea of the material—the sources—on which these are based in their proper geographic context.

Gujarat: Its Present Boundaries and Ancient Divisions

What we know as Gujarat today is the country extending roughly from Mount Abu in the north to Daman in the south, from Dwarka on the Arabian Sea in the west to Godhra or Dohad in the east, that is, the country bounded on the north by the desert of Marwar, on the north-west by the Great Runn of Cutch, on the west (if Kathiawar is included) by the Arabian Sea, on the south by the Deccan plateau which almost abuts on the coastal plain between Daman and Dahanu, on the east by the gorges of the Narbada and the Tapti, with Satpura in between, on the north-east by the Mewar and Malwa plateaux.

In the manner in which it is ruled today or was ruled after the 11th century, it was never ruled by one king, as far as we know from the earliest times to the 10th century, nor was the whole land or country as above described was called Gujarat. The country south of the *Mahī* or at times south of the Narbada up to the Purna or so far as Daman was called *Lāṭa*, while, it appears, that *Ānartta* was the name of the country extending from Kaira to Palanpur or Vadnagar in the north, and including Dwarka in the west. The rest of the country, viz., the southern portion of the present Kathiawar peninsula was called *Surāṣṭra*, as it is even now known by its Prakrit name as *Soraṭh*.

Thus *Lāṭa* corresponded roughly with Southern Gujarat;[1] *Ānartta* with the Northern but included most probably parts of Northern Kathiawar, while *Surāṣṭra* corresponded with Southern Kathiawar.

If we leave out the pre-historic and the Puranic periods, about which we do not know much, the first historical fact we have is that 2300 years from now, in about 300 years before Christ, practically the whole of modern Gujarat formed a part of the Mauryan Empire, and

[1] According to Dr. CHATTERJI, "*Lāṭa* also would appear to have included Southern Sindh, which is still called *Lāḍ* (लाड़) as opposed to *Vicolī* (विचोली) or Central Sindh, Siraiki (सिरैकी) or Northern Sindh. Compare Larike<*Lāḍikā*, <*Lāṭikā*, the Greek transformation of the name for the country of Sourthern Kathiawar, with its capital *Barakhe*<*Dvārakā*". (Compare *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*).

Surāṣṭra was governed by *Puṣyagupta*, under Candragupta and by a Yavana *Tuṣāspa* under *Aśoka* respectively. Who the other governors (*rāṣṭriya*) of *Lāṭa* and *Ānartta* were we do not know.

Of this period we have only the edicts of *Aśoka* carved on a boulder on the way to Mount Girnar. These edicts however do not contain any names of places nor of people within Gujarat. The names of the governors *Puṣyagupta* and *Tuṣāspa* are given in a record of the subsequent period, viz., in the inscription of *Rudradāman* which is also carved on the boulder mentioned above. I should mention here that during the interval between the Maurya and *Kṣatrapa* rule in Gujarat, the period from 180 B.C. to B.C. 100, the Indo-Greeks probably ruled over parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar. But of these rulers we have no records, except coins which are found at many places in Gujarat and Kathiawar.

The Indo-Greeks were driven out by the *Śakas*, a Central Asian people who entered India from the north and north-west and soon spread over almost the whole of northern India. Under *Rudradāman*, a *Kṣatrapa*, probably one of their branches obtained suzerainty over Western India, the whole coastal strip, from Konkan in the south to Cutch in the north, and inland spreading as far as and including Malwa.

Gujarat and Kathiawar remained under the *Kṣatrapas* for about265 years—from A. D. 125 to A. D. 390—at the end of which period these parts were conquered by Candragupta II. Of these—the *Śakas*—we have 12 stone inscriptions, all found from Cutch and Kathiawar. Unfortunately these inscriptions contain very few names of people and places. Nevertheless, the few names that occur enable us to trace the history of certain place-names ending in '*padra*' such as Raso-padra.

As I said just now the Guptas replaced the *Kṣatrapas* in about 390 A. D., and ruled there for about 100 years. But only one record, an inscription carved on the boulder, which bears *Aśoka's* and *Rudradāman's* records at Girnar, is now known to exist which definitely testifies to the prevalence of Gupta rule in Gujarat and Kathiawar. This record belongs to the reign of Skandagupta who was the fourth of the Gupta kings, and ruled probably between 450 A. D. to 467 A. D. It tells us that Skandagupta had appointed one *Cakrapālita*, son of *Parṇadatta* to govern *Surāṣṭra*.

At about this time southern part of *Lāṭa*, the country south of the Tapti, was under a small but independent dynasty, called in their inscriptions as the *Traikūṭakas*. Only three copper plates of this dynasty have so far come down to us. From these we know that the members of this dynasty, *Darhasena* and his son *Vyāghrasena* ruled the country roughly between Surat and Bombay from about 450 to 495 A. D.

When the Gupta empire broke up towards the close of the 5th century, several petty kings and generals, who were probably former vassals of the Guptas, tried to assert their independence, and carve out a kingdom for themselves from the ruins of the tottering empire, which once stretched from the eastern to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas, while the influence of its greatest rulers was felt beyond all the frontiers of India.

From its ruins arose the principality of the Gurjjaras around Broach, with *Nāndipurī* as their capital, of the Maitrakas at *Valabhī*, near Bhavnagar; of the *Gārulakas* around Dwarka, and perhaps of the Saindhavas at Ghumli near Porbandar; of the *Kaṭaccuris* north and south of the Tapti, who were soon replaced by the *Cālukyas* of Badami. Thus we have at least 5 to 6 small powers or generals who shared between them parts of Kathiawar and *Lāṭa*. Northern Gujarat, the portion extending from Kaira to Palanpur in the north was probably under the *Gurjara-Pratihāras* of Rajaputana. Small as these powers were, their records are the only sources which supply us with some details about the political and cultural history—administrative units and officers, names of places and *Brāhmaṇas* with their *gotras* and Vedic *śākhas* for over 200 years, from about 500 A. D. to 770 A. D.; while there is only one copper plate of *Saṁgrāmasiṁha*, a Senapati who ruled the country around Broach, before the *Kaṭaccuris*, and the Gurjjaras, in A. D. 540. Just after the Gurjjaras, a *Cāhamāna* dynasty ruled in the same region in V. S. 813=A. D. 757. Thus we see that the present Broach district had no less than four different dynasties, roughly between A. D. 550—A. D. 750.

Of the Gurjjara dynasty at Broach we have so far only 17 copper plates, of which three are forgeries. These tell us that the dynasty ruled for about over 100 years from about 600 A. D. to 700 A. D.

The Maitrakas have left the largest number of records. No less than 100 copper plates are so far found, while there is one inscription on a potsherd.

The *Kaṭaccuri* dynasty in *Lāṭa* is represented by 5 copper plates. They ruled around Baroda or at Ujjayini from c. 590 to 610, when they seem to have been ousted by the Gurjjaras and the *Cālukyas*.

Southern *Lāṭa*, the country south of the Tapti came under a branch of the *Cālukyas* of Badami, when their greatest king *Pulakeśin II* drove out the *Kaṭaccuris* in about 610 A. D. From that time upto 750 this branch ruled here with the capital at *Navasārikā* or modern Navasari. Thus Northern *Lāṭa* had four and the Southern *Lāṭa* had three dynasties between 550-750 A. D.

Period of Great Changes

At about this period a tremendous change came over both Gujarat and Kathiawar. It was due to the changes in the political movements in the north and south.

I will first deal with the movements in the south. The *Cālukyas* who were masters of Southern Gujarat, Konkan, Karnataka and parts of Southern India, were ousted from that position by the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*. This was a new Deccan-Karnataka dynasty. The world-famous Ellora caves were carved during their regime and under their direction. A member of this dynasty, Dantidurga defeated the *Cālukyas* and overran Gujarat as far as Kaira in the north. Soon after, under his successors, a branch of the dynasty was established at (Khetaka) Kaira. This and the later, the main or the Imperial *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* dynasty ruled practically the whole of the coastal strip of Gujarat for 200 years, from 770 to 970 A. D. Of the branch and the main line together we have so far recovered 19 copper plate inscriptions.

But the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* could not hold the country beyond Ahmedabad, though at times their raids reached as far as the Gangetic Doab, and seized Kanoj (*Kānyakubja*). In these attempts they were frustrated by the *Gurjara-Pratihāras*, a dynasty which sprang up in Rajputana in the 7th century. Within a few decades it spread its sway over Malwa, N. Gujarat, Kathiawar, and the whole of Northern India, up to the Himalayan foothills, and parts of Bengal and Bihar. It is this power, the Gurjaras, which prevented the Arabs from

penetrating further eastwards after they had raided and destroyed *Valabhī* and conquered Sindh in the 8th century.

We have no record of the *Gurjara-Pratihāras* themselves found from Gujarat, but from their other records we know that Northern Gujarat and Kathiawar formed a part of their vast empire. This fact is proved by the existence of the copper-plates of their feudatories in Kathiawar. These are of the year 900 A. D.

This dynasty represented by Balavarman and Avanivarman was not the only feudatory power of the *Gurjara-Pratihāras* in Kathiawar. Another such vassal dynasty, called *Cāpa* (*Cāvaḍas* of the present day) ruled near Wadhwan. We have only one copper-plate of this dynasty dated A. D. 917, while the Western coast of Kathiawar, around Porbundar was under a third vassal power, the Saindhavas. Only very recently six copper-plate inscriptions of this dynasty have been discovered. Their capital was at *Bhumulikā* or modern Ghumli.

This brings my survey of the sources almost to the end of the 10th century. As at the end of the 5th century and the 8th century, the Indian political scene again changed. The *Gurjara-Pratihāra* empire was destroyed in the north, as well as the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* in the south and several new powers sprang up. In Karnataka the *Cālukyas* came back, whereas in Northern Gujarat, *Mūlarāja*, a general probably of the *Gurjara-Pratihāras*, but of the *Cālukya* family uprooted the small *Cāpa* family which was ruling at Anhilwad, and started an independent career. Owing to his former contacts with Rajputana, it was easier for him to conquer parts of this region from his base at Patan (*Anahilapāṭaka*) in the Sarasvati valley in Northern Gujarat. His descendants gradually extended the sway of the dynasty over *Lāṭa*, then over Kathiawar and Cutch and finally over Malwa and further northwards in Rajputana.

Under this dynasty, known popularly as Solanki, our present Gujarat came to be called by the name *Gurjjara-maṅḍala* because for the first time the rulers identified themselves with the land over which they ruled. Though outsiders or foreigners they might be, they lived here and tried their best to encourage art, literature, trade and commerce. With the royal patronage and private enterprise the country flourished as never before and acquired a cultural and political unity. This was expressed by one word "Gujarat" or *Gurjjara-maṅḍala.*

It is of this period principally that I would deal at length. For we have a fairly large number of inscriptions of the Caulukya dynasty, and a number of literary sources with which we can check the inscriptional evidence. For considering the total number of inscriptions, roughly 280, spreading over a period of 1600 years, from about 300 B.C. before Christ to 1300 A.D., and assignable to some 20 dynasties, we have about 100 inscriptions of the Solanki dynasty only. And unlike those of the Maitrakas of *Valabhī*, these 100 records do not contain stereotyped description of kings and names of *Brāhmaṇas*, but are comparatively richer and of diverse types.

I have been alluding to inscriptions which I have called sources of my information. It is necessary to know in some detail what these inscriptions are, and what their value is in reconstructing the past history and culture of Gujarat.

Inscriptions as Historical Documents

Inscriptions are writings inscribed either on stone, copper-plate, coins, pottery, terracotta, seals, or even palm leaves. These writings are not conscious attempts to record the history of a particular event itself of the past. In this sense they are not historical documents. Their main object is either to record

(1) a donation by a king or a private individual to a *Brāhmaṇa* or to some other donee or a temple,
(2) in eulogistic language the deeds of a king or a private individual,
(3) the death of a king or an individual,
(4) orders or commands of a king.

Types of Inscriptions

Thus depending upon the central theme of the inscription, we may divide the inscriptions of Gujarat into four broad classes:

(1) Donative.
(2) Eulogistic or *Praśasti* type.
(3) Commemorative.
(4) Rescripts.

The inscriptions of *Aśoka* at Girnar belong to the last class. These are rescripts on morality, asking people what they should do and not do.

Of the 12 *Kṣatrapa* inscriptions only one, the Junagadh or Girnar inscription of *Rudradāman*, is a *Praśasti*. The rest are commemorative or donative. Likewise Skandagupta's inscription at Girnar is a *Praśasti*.

Of the three *Traikūṭaka* inscriptions, one is purely donative and the two others are of a mixed nature—eulogistic and donative. All the Gurjjara, *Cālukya*, Maitraka, Saindhava, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* and most of the Solanki inscriptions are exactly of a similar nature. But there are some, e.g., the Vadnagar inscription of *Kumārapāla*, which are pure *Praśasti*, while there are others which are purely donative or commemorative.

Whether written from a historical point of view or not, all the above described types of inscriptions mention incidentally certain facts which are useful and have been used for the last 100 years in reconstructing India's past. In a way it is good, for like a consciously written history we are not likely to get a biased account. Of course, this remark is not true of the *Praśasti* class of inscriptions. But even here by checking the grandiloquent praises of a king and his exploits, we are able to form a reasonable estimate of his character, the extent of his dominions and his relations with his contemporaries as well as the administrative, religious and social conditions of his time.

In the case of other types of inscriptions we are absolutely on a safe ground. For the aim and object of these inscriptions is to record details about the donor, and the object donated and the year, month, and day and the occasion on which it was donated. From each of the items we can visualise more or less fully, the prevailing tendencies in the use of an era, belief in auspicious occasions, fashions, and style of writing, and the existence of certain cults[1].

Attempts have been made by me and others before me to form some idea of the method of administration and administrative units. But so far no attempt has been made to fix the size of a territorial or administrative unit, the size, the character and nature of the population, and from the study of both of these, the nature of the spoken language and the changes it has undergone in the last 1000 years.

For this purpose I have selected only the inscriptions of the Caulukya dynasty for they offer us data in a manner which can be satisfactorily worked out.

[1] See SANKALIA, *The Archaeology of Gujarat*.

Special Features of Caulukya Records

The points in which these records differ from the earlier records are these: First as regards the object donated which is usually a piece of land or a village. Some of the earlier grants merely mention the village, which makes it almost impossible to identify the village. Some others define the boundaries and while doing so mention the villages on its four sides. This makes the task a little easier. Most of the *Valabhī* grants are like these. Others go a step forward and mention the larger units in which the village is comprised. While these details are welcome what is required is that

(1) the village donated,

(2) the large unit of which it forms a part,

(3) its boundaries,

(4) the place or part from where the grant is made, should be given. Further, these details we should have for a certain unit, for a number of years, and not once in a while, and secondly not for one unit only but all the contiguous units, so that we can form a correct idea of the limits of each unit.

For example, we cannot know the size of the Poona Taluka and Poona District unless we have got a fairly good idea of the number of villages in the Poona Taluka as well as the number of other talukas which go to form the Poona District.

Fortunately such details we get in a few inscriptions of the Caulukyas or Solankis from which we can form an idea of the size of the administrative units and distribution of population of parts of Northern Gujarat, which are now within the Baroda State. These are discussed in the second lecture.

Lecture II

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

IN the first lecture I discussed briefly the sources of my information, having first explained the aim, and the method followed in the preparation of these lectures. The sources were mentioned in their proper chronological and political context. In this lecture I propose to reconstruct the administrative divisions of the Caulukya or Solanki empire.

In order that we may follow clearly the process of the formation and governance of this empire I would go back to this period tracing briefly the formation of the administrative divisions during the British, Maratha and the Muslim rule in Gujarat. This method, I think, will make the understanding of the past easier.

Present Divisions of Gujarat

The Bombay Presidency, as constituted at present, includes practically the whole of Gujarat proper. For the collection of revenue and other administrative purposes it is divided into several districts or *jillās*. Thus we have beginning from the north the following districts:

Ahmedabad, Kaira, Panch Mahal, Broach and Surat. Each of these districts is further divided into subdivisions, which are locally called *tālukās*. I do not know if there is any English word for this smaller unit. Each *tālukā* consists of a certain number of villages. A village is thus the lowest unit.

It may be asked, "what was the basis on which the British fixed the size of their district and *tālukā*?" Two things might give us the clue. First the comparison of the size of a district with the size of the *jillā* or similar units during the Mughal rule. We need not consider the practice prevalent during the Maratha hegemony over Gujarat. For though they might have introduced some changes in the Deccan proper, as far as Gujarat and other provinces are concerned, they had hardly

the time or suitable atmosphere to try new forms. During their first raids they were concerned with the collection of one-fourth of the revenue by some means or other; during more peaceful times, I think, they were content to allow old forms to continue.

These old forms of administrative machinery were those prevalent under their—Marathas'—predecessors, viz., the Mughals.

Divisions under the Mughals

The first Mughal rulers, Babar and Humayun, had to establish themselves firmly in the land, so they could not even think of any innovations. Conditions were different with Akbar. After having consolidated and enlarged his forefathers' empire he began its systematic reconstruction. But even in this he stuck to old forms wherever necessary. Thus we are told that there was nothing new, except the redistribution of the provinces. The creation of a *sūba* seems to be a Mughal innovation, but its divisions into *sarkārs* was not. For under the Sultans of Gujarat the province of Gujarat was divided into 25 *sarkārs*, and Akbar divided it into 16 *sarkārs*. The whole empire was organised into divisions.

Each division was called a *sūba*. This *sūba* was thus equivalent of the present day British province. The *sūba* was further sub-divided into *sarkārs*. The *sūba* of Gujarat was divided into the following *sarkārs*:

(1) Ahmedabad, (2) Pattan, (3) Baroda, (4) Broach, (5) Champaner, (6) Godhra, (7) Nanded, (8) Surat, and (9) Sorath.

On comparing these divisions with the present divisions of Gujarat, it would be clear that with the addition of the territories of the Baroda and Rajpipla states in Gujarat and Kathiawar to the 6 British districts, both the divisions would be almost identical. In fact it should be so. For excepting some minor States which existed even in the Mughal and pre-Mughal days, the English and the Gaikwads seem to be sharing between them the old Mughal *sūba* of Gujarat.

The British organised their portion into five districts as mentioned before, whereas the Gaikwad formed his territories into a small "empire" and divided it into three or four "*prāntas*", each under a *sūba*. Here is a slight misapplication of the word, originated perhaps by the English. The *sūba* is an Arabic term for a province; the person in charge of it was and should be called a *Sūbādar*, according to the tradition.

Under the Surs, the predecessors of the Mughals, the largest administrative unit was known by the name of the country or the capital. Next to it came *sarkār*, corresponding with the earlier terms *shiqq*[1], *khiṭṭa* and even *iqta*. The *sarkār* is supposed to be introduced by the Surs, but there is no direct evidence.[2]

As under the previous Muslim rulers, so also under the Mughals each *sarkār* or district was further sub-divided into *parganas*. It appears that the division of a *sarkār* into *parganas* was on territorial basis only; each *sarkār* and *parganа* was divided into *mahāl* (plural of Persian *mahāll*, place) for fiscal purposes. This system is still continued by the British as well as by the Gaikwad. For they have allowed their smaller subdivisions—fiscal and territorial—to be called *mahāl* or *ta'alluque* (*tālukā*).

Administrative Units under Delhi Sultans

Thus we see how our present administrative system is partly inherited from the old Mughal and pre-Mughal traditions. But it is in part only. For both we and the Mughals have discarded the older names of large divisions. *Shiqq* was one of them. It was applied by the Sultans of Delhi after they consolidated their Indian conquests into an empire in A.D. 1193 with Qutb-ud-din Aibak or with Iltutmish, who was the first to receive the investiture from the emissaries of the Caliph Mansur in A.D. 1229. We are told that "the provincial administration was a replica of the central government...the unit of administration was the village; villages were grouped into *parganas*, and the latter into *shiqqs*. The *shiqqs* and some provinces came to be known as *sarkārs* towards the end of the period."[3] This *shiqq* and its sub-division *parganа* have disappeared from use in modern Gujarat, though the words *ta'alluqa*, *mahāl* and *zila* have become part of the Gujarati language. Under the Tughluqs, every province (*iqlīm*) was divided into a number of districts, and district (*shiqq*) was sub-divided into towns (*madīnah*), and every

[1] "शिकदार" *Śik-dār* (officer collecting the revenues of a district) is a Bengali surname now. S. K. C.

[2] TRIPATHI, R. P., *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, 1936, 309; also QUANUNGO, K. R.. *Sher Shah*, 1921, 351,354, 357.

[3] QURESHI, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, 11.

town had as its dependency a *sadi*, a collection of 100 villages or *pargaṇa*. *Sadi* was the lowest administrative unit.[1]

I was anxious to find out how the various Muslim rulers—the Sultans of Delhi, including Sher Shah, the Sultans of Gujarat and the Mughals had brought the various names for territorial and fiscal units into use. For it would be interesting to know whether these terms are Arabic, Persian or Turkish in origin and whether these were used by the Muslim emperors outside India prior to the coming of the Muslims to India or whether they had none or few of such divisions and subdivisions and were inspired to coin them on the analogy of the existing Indian names.[2]

My information on these points does not go far.

The *pargaṇa* is supposed[3] to be the Indian name for an aggregate of villages. The first reference to it is said to be in the chronicles of the Sultanate of Delhi, viz., *Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhi*. In the XIV century it partially superseded the unit *kaṣba*. Both Sher Shah and Akbar retained this unit, which was smaller than the *sarkār*.

What the *Encyclopaedia* means by saying that it is "an Indian name," and further that "in all probability is based on still more ancient divisions in existence before the Muslim conquest" cannot be clearly understood. The word is not met with in pre-Muslim works.[4] Probably what it means is that the size of the *pargaṇa* was coextensive with that of a pre-Muslim Indian unit.

Like the *pargaṇa*, the smallest fiscal unit under Akbar was also called a *mahāl*. It is an Arabic word, meaning originally a place where one makes a halt. In Persian and Hindustani it came to be called *muhulla*,[5] and in Gujarati *mahāl*.

[1] Agha Mahdi HUSAIN, *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad Bin Tughluq*, 1938, 224.

[2] According to SARKAR, the Turkish conquerors brought with themselves to this new home, the type of administration which had long been known to extra-Indian Muslim countries as the model, viz., the administrative system of the Abbasid Khalifs of Iraq and the Fatimid of Egypt." *Mughal Administration*, 6.

[3] *Encyclopaedia of Islam.*

[4] According to Dr. CHATTERJI, it is a Persianised Sanskrit word. *Pragaṇa* > *Pargaṇaḥ*, while Professor SHAIKH considers it a Persian word. Its transliteration is given as suggested by the latter.

[5] *Encyclopaedia*, *op. cit.* 110.

Ṣūba also is an Arabic substantive from the root *ṣūba* meaning primarily a collection, a heap of wheat etc. In Akbar's time the great provinces which were previously called by such words as *ṣhiqq* or *khiṭṭa*, came to be called *ṣūbas*.[1]

By a strange paradox, in the Baroda State, its "province" is called a *prānta*,[2] a purely Sanskrit word, while their heads are called *sūbas*, which is wrong and should be *Sūbadārs*, or more strictly *Prāntādhipatis*.

The origin of the words *kaṣbā*, *shīqq*, or *khiṭṭa*, *zilā* and *tālukā* (*ta' alluka*), which are all Arabic, and *sarkār*, which is Persian, cannot be satisfactorily traced at present.

Territorial Units In Pre-Muslim India

Pre-Muslim India had a wealth of such units each connoting a certain aspect of the size of the land from the earliest historical times.

Pre-Mauryan literary sources like *Pāṇini*, speak of *jānapada*, *maṇḍala*, and *viṣaya* as territorial or political units, or sometimes as 'country' in general. In a similar sense they are used by *Kauṭalya*. Historically the earliest empire that we know of is the Maurya empire. Unfortunately we have no detailed knowledge how this vast empire which included Peshawar in the north and parts of Mysore in the south and Bengal and Kathiawar on the east and west was divided into provinces.

Maurya Period

In the edicts of *Aśoka* we find the units *jānapada*, *viṣaya*, *āhāra*, *pradeśa* and the terms '*Rāṣṭrika*' and '*Raṭhika*', i.e. officers governing a *rāṣṭra*. Why *maṇḍala* which is discussed at length by *Kauṭalya* does not occur even once is rather strange, unless it be explained that *maṇḍala* is used by *Kauṭalya* in the sense of an independent kingdom. And the edicts, though referring to such frontier kingdoms refer to them by their proper name or names of the people, and not by the qualifying words as *deśa*, or *maṇḍala*. It appears that the independent or ruling but tribute-paying kingdoms were called *maṇḍalas*, whereas the provinces under the emperor were called *jānapadas*. These were probably

[1] *Encyclopaedia*, *op. cit.* 490.

[2] It has never been used in ancient India for territorial units, except for describing frontier kingdoms as in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

sub-divided into *rāṣṭras*. The former were under "viceroys," and the latter under governors called *Rāṣṭriyas*. There were viceroys at *Takṣaśilā*, *Ujjayinī*, and *Suvarṇagiri* (in Mysore State). The *Rāṣṭriyas*—*Puṣyagupta* and Yavana *Tuṣaṣṭha* under Candragupta and *Aśoka* respectively were probably under the viceroy of Malwa. If thus *rāṣṭra* stood for a province, its further sub-divisions were *viṣaya*, *pradeśa*, *āhāra* and *grāma*, each unit smaller than the preceding unit.

Two centuries later, round about the Christian era, as the epigraphs tell us, the unit *āhāra*, larger than the village (and *pathaka*, which we meet later) and perhaps equivalent of our district was current practically throughout India. The unit larger than *āhāra* was perhaps the *rāṣṭra*, and smaller *pathaka*. Thus we know of *Sātahani-rattha* (*rāṣṭra*?) from an early Pallava plate,[1] and Kanmaka-*ratha* from a Jagayyapeta inscription,[2] and the Ujeni (*Ujjayinī*)-*āhāra*,[3] Govadhana-*āhāra*,[4] *Māmala-āhāra*,[5] *Sopāraka-āhāra*,[6] and *Kāpura-āhāra*,[7] from the Sanchi Stupa, Nasik and Kanheri cave inscriptions. The four last mentioned *āhāras* would constitute probably the modern districts of Nasik, Thana and Poona.

Before proceeding I may mention here that of all these units only *āhāra* seems to be originally a fiscal unit, the word having been derived from √*hṛ*–*ā*, meaning to offer, in this case some form of food, the produce of land, later other taxes. Its smaller part was called *āharaṇi*, as we know from later epigraphs of the Maitrakas. The rest,—*viṣaya*, *patha* and *pathaka* seem to be originally territorial units, later becoming both territorial and fiscal. *Viṣaya* is mentioned by *Pāṇini* as a territorial unit.[8] *Patha* or *pathaka* originally meaning road, course, reach, must have gradually come to mean "area within certain reach". Thus *Dākṣiṇā-* and *Uttarā-patha*. *Pathaka* would be a dimunitive, meaning a smaller unit.

[1] LUEDERS, *EI.* X. Appendix, No. 1200.
[2] *Ibid.* No. 1202.
[3] *Ibid.* No. 268.
[4] *Ibid.* No. 1124.
[5] *Ibid.* No. 1105.
[6] *Ibid.* No. 988.
[7] *Ibid.* No. 1133.
[8] BOETHLING and ROTH, 6, 1248.

Gupta Administration

After the Maurya, the second well-known empire was that of the Guptas. Under them both the Central and Provincial Governments, it appears, were most carefully organized. At least the information at our disposal is such that we are able to picture before us, a much more complete and living organization than during any period either before or after the Guptas. Not only do we get to know how the far-flung empire was divided into various provinces, these into sub-divisions, and further sub-divisions but also how each unit was governed and in some cases who the administrator of each unit was.

The empire was divided into the central and provincial governments. We are not much concerned with the central government, or how the empire was governed as much as with the constitution of the empire into various provincial units.

In the eastern part of the empire the following territorial units were current:—*grāma, viṣaya, bhukti, khaṇḍa, deśa*, each larger than the preceding one. In the western the following territorial units were current: *grāma, pathaka, āhāra, viṣaya, bhukti, maṇḍala, rāṣṭra*(?). Of course, of the last we have no direct information from Gupta inscriptions.[1]

This administrative system, handed down from a long past, and perhaps perfected under the Guptas was followed all over India with local differences in each small or large succeeding empire, or independent kingdom, or a vassal state until the establishment of the Sultanate at Delhi in A. D. 1193 or 1229.

Administrative System in Gujarat

What was the system prevalent in Gujarat? Was it in any way different from the Gupta administrative system?

As I have said previously we cannot form a detailed idea as to how Gujarat or its three constituents were governed during the Maurya and the succeeding periods up to the close of the Gupta period. The only thing we do know is that under the Mauryas and the Guptas, Gujarat formed the outlying province of their respective empires. We further

[1] From the mention of *Varddhamāna-bhukti* in a Maitraka plate, *JBBRAS*, XI. 344. Since this is in *Saurāṣṭra*, the statement (*Life in the Gupta Age* 318) requires to be modified.

know from an extra-Gujarat inscription that about the 5th century *Lāṭa* was called a *viṣaya*; whether this was in a technical sense, meaning a part of the empire or kingdom, or merely in the sense of country we have no means to ascertain. Probably the *viṣaya* here connotes a country.

Some slight detailed information begins to trickle in from the *Traikūṭaka* period onwards. Of course, it relates only to those parts of Gujarat, which were under the respective dynasties. The *Traikūṭaka* inscriptions tell us that *Aparānta*, the northern part of the Konkan seaboard was called *deśa*. One of its sub-divisions was *Kāpura-āhāra*. Perhaps larger than this unit was a *viṣaya*. One of which was the *Antarmaṅḍali-viṣaya*, that is the *Pūrṇā-miṇḍholā doab*, now comprised partly under the *Mahuvā* and *Navsari Mahāls* of the *Navsari Prānt* in the Baroda State. This shows that the territorial limits of a unit were at times fixed by geographical considerations.

There was a still smaller unit called *pallikā*. Thus we have in the ascending series the following units: *grāma*, *pura*, *pallikā*, *āhāra*, *viṣaya* and *deśa*.

North of the Tapti there were the Bharukaccha and the *Antaranārmadā-viṣaya*, that is the *doab* between the Narbada and the Tapti (?). Since these two are mentioned in inscriptions of two different dynasties, viz., the *Kaṭaccuris* and the inscription of *Saṁgamasiṁha* we cannot say whether the Bharukaccha-*viṣaya* was to the north of the Narbada, and the other to its south or whether their limits overlapped. From the mention of a sub-division, Gorajja-*bhoga*, which is located in the Halol Taluka of the Panch Mahal district, it would appear that the Bharukaccha-*viṣaya* included the country north of the Narbada and extended as far as Halol in the north-east. Incidentally we know that *bhoga* and *draṅga* were two of the sub-divisions of a *viṣaya*. The person in charge of the former was called Bhogika or *Bhogikapāla*; of the latter *Draṅgika*.

Territorial Units under the Gurjjaras

Still further details are available from the records of the Gurjjaras of *Nāndīpurī*, who succeeded the *Kaṭaccuris*. Small and dependent as their kingdom was, it still consisted of at least four large divisions (*viṣayas*): viz., the *Antaranarmadā*, *Aṅkuleśvara*, *Bharukaccha*, and *Saṅgamakheṭaka*. That is the country now comprised between the

Tapti in the south and the Mahi in the north and the middle reaches of the Orsang on the north-east. Even now it is roughly distributed between four districts and the Sankheda *tālukā* of the Baroda *Prānt* in the Baroda State. Thus the division of the Gurjjara kingdom into four sub-divisions seems to be reasonable, justified as it is by modern division of the land.

As all the places mentioned in each *viṣaya* cannot be satisfactorily identified I have not been able to fix the limits of each *viṣaya*, nor able to say whether the names (*viṣayas*) *Aṅkuleśvara*, *Bharukaccha* and *Antaranarmadā* were always applicable to the same area or whether at times they were applied to different areas. Discovery of more records of the period and identification of all the place-names might enable us to acquire a definite knowledge of the extension of the divisions of the Gurjjara kingdom. And probably, as BUEHLER suggested, the northern part of Broach district comprising the *tālukās* of Broach, Vagra, Amod, and Jambusar were included in the Bharukaccha *viṣaya*, just as the *Aṅkuleśvara viṣaya* comprised the *tālukā* of *Aṅkuleśvara* together with the *peṭā tālukā* of Hamsot.

The *viṣaya* was further divided into *āhāras*; the *āhāra* into *pathakas*; and the *pathaka* into *grāmas*. Besides these units we hear of one more unit, called *bhukti*. Now this is the first time that we know of the existence of units like the *pathaka* and *bhukti* in Gujarat. During the Gupta period a number of *bhuktis* are known from the U. P. and Bengal. A *bhukti* was sometimes equivalent of a *viṣaya*; sometimes larger than it. In the later period of Gujarat history we rarely come across a *bhukti*. From this it would appear that it was introduced by or during the Gupta period in Gujarat, but died out later.

Had the information supplied by the records of *Cālukyas* of Navasari not been so meagre we would have known what exactly the territorial units south of the Tapti were. At present we can only say that the system of division of the kingdom into *viṣayas*, and *āhāras* was current there.

Under the Rastrakutas

The *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* succeeded the *Cālukyas*. Under them Gujarat once more became a province—perhaps for the first and the last time,—of a southern ruler. In the earlier period of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* rule, it was

governed by their relatives and feudatories, who were called *Mahā-sāmanta* or *Sāmantadhipati*.

Normally the sway of the Imperial *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* extended over the whole of *Lāṭa*, that is, up to and including the modern Kaira district as far as Kapadvanj in the north. To this were added Malwa and some territory in the northeast and southeast and southwest[1] (part of eastern Kathiawar) by victories over the Gurjara-*Pratihāras* and others.

During the zenith of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* rule the *Lāṭa* province included Kaira on the north and Daman in the south, that is, modern Central and Southern Gujarat. It was at times called *Lāṭa-deśa*; at others *Lāṭa-maṇḍala*. Thus these two, *deśa* and *maṇḍala*, were the largest units. But a *maṇḍala* was ordinarily smaller than and within a *deśa* as we are told that *Kheṭaka-maṇḍala* was in *Lāṭa-deśa*. The mention of a *maṇḍala* is interesting. *Kauṭalya* mentions it as the name of a separate and independent kingdom not in the sense of a province. But we find no reference to such a unit in either the pre-Gupta or Gupta times. Only late in the post-Gupta period it comes into existence and is found current all over northern India after the 9th century.

Over and above the reference to the *maṇḍala*, we get a more intimate picture of Central and Southern Gujarat, for we recognize in it some of the places which occupied a leading position then as now. Such as *Kheṭaka* (or *Kheḍā* or Kaira) which was the capital, Kapadvanj (*Kārpaṭavāṇijya*), Modasa (*Mohaḍavāsaka*), *Mahiṣa*, *Kāvi* (*Kapikā*), Jambusar, Borsad (Baddarsasiddhi), Bardoli (Varadapalli), Baroda, Katargam (*Kantārgrāma*), Sanjan, and Navsari.

Strangely enough the records found hitherto do not mention *Aṅkuleśvara*, Bharukaccha and *Saṁgamakheṭaka* as *viṣayas*, though these places are mentioned once. However we know that the modern Jambusar *tālukā*, which once formed the northern part of Bharukaccha *viṣaya*, was now included in the *Kheṭakā-maṇḍala*, with the important places of *Kāpikā-mahāsthāna* and Kemajju or *Kevañja* at the *saṅgamā* of the Mahi and the Gulf of Cambay.

[1] As a recently discovered grant of Govinda from Bhavnagar granting a village near *Pālitāna* would show, if the grant is genuine. I owe this information to my friend Prof. P. M. Modi.

Likewise the country to the northwest of Sankheda was now under a unit called *Maṅkanikā-bhukti*, *Maṅkanikā* being Mankani in the Sankheda *mahāl*.

The country to the west of Sankheda *tālukā*, now forming the Baroda *tālukā*, probably formed then a part of a group of villages called *Aṅkoṭṭaka*-84.

The coastal tract now forming the Olpad and Chorasi *tālukās* of the Surat district, and Navsari *Prānt* of the Baroda State, constituted perhaps two or three large units. The northern part was the *Kantārgrāma-viṣaya*, the southern under *Koṅkaṇa-viṣaya*. Besides these the records mention four other *viṣayas*, which cannot be properly identified. Perhaps Kapadvanj and the country to its north came under the *Mahiṣaka*-42 *viṣaya*, identifying *Mahiṣaka* with Mahisa, a place a few miles to the north of Kapadvanj.

More interesting is the reference to several groups of villages, such as *Aṅkoṭṭaka*-84, *Harṣapura*-750, and *Kārpaṭavāṇijya*-84, Ruriddha-10, *Sīharakhi*-12 and Variavi-16.

It is for the first time that we hear of this practice of units formed by a group of villages in ancient Gujarat. Dr. ALTEKAR[1] has traced back this practice to the *Mahābhārata*,[2] *Manusmṛti*,[3] and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.[4] Different opinions have been expressed on the exact interpretation of these terms. But it is interesting to note that in Gujarat the custom survives in such names as Chorasi-*tālukā*, Kapadvanj-*chorāsi*, etc.

There is only one reference to the unit, *āhāra*, viz., Tenna or *Treṇṇa-āhāra*, which is identified with Ten, a little north of Bardoli in the Surat district, and one to *pathaka*.

Thus in the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* administration we have *deśa*, *maṇḍala*, *āhāra*, *bhukti*, or *viṣaya*, *pathaka*, a group of villages, and finally the lowest, a village. Sufficient details are not available at present to ascertain the relation between the three units below the *maṇḍala*.

[1] ALTEKAR, *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, 138.
[2] *Śāntiparvan*, 87.3-5.
[3] VII.115. Cf. JHA, *Manu Smṛti Notes*, III, Comparative, 506.
[4] III.4-6

Under the Paramaras

We saw that the *Kheṭaka-maṇḍala* during the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* period included the northern part of modern Broach district, but we had no evidence to form an idea of its extension in the north. Welcome data are provided on this question by records of the *Paramāras* who during the middle of the 10th century were first under the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, and then became independent. These records tell us that the *Kheṭaka-maṇḍala* included the *Mohaḍavāsaka-viṣaya*. This *Mohaḍavāsaka* is no other than the present *Moḍāsā* in the Prantij *tālukā* of the Ahmedabad district.

Surastra

I have so far confined myself to describing the territorial units in *Lāṭa* and *Ānartta* or coastal and northern Gujarat respectively. *Surāṣṭra* or Kathiawar was left out of consideration. It formed an outlying province of the Maurya and Gupta empires, but what its internal territorial organization then was we do not know. This we get to know during the post-Gupta period when the Maitrakas established themselves at *Valabhī* in the 6th century or a little earlier. From the Eastern Kathiawad the Maitrakas gradually extended their sway over the whole of Kathiawad, then the coastal strip of Gujarat which included at least Kaira in the north and Broach or Katargam on the Tapti in the south, and at times, it appears, even Malwa in the east, implying thereby the possession of Central Gujarat, including the present Panch Mahal district.

Territorial Units under the Maitrakas

To govern this extensive empire the Maitrakas not only borrowed the existing system of territorial division, but developed in their own home province, *Saurāṣṭra*, a system which, since it is neither known to exist in pre-Maitraka or post-Maitraka period, either in Kathiawar or elsewhere, seems to be their contribution to the growth of or the sum-total of indigenous Indian territorial divisions.

Besides the larger territorial units like the *āhāra*, *bhukti*, *pathaka* and *viṣaya*, the existence of three of which we know during the Gupta period, we hear of small units as *bheda*, *bhūmi*, *draṅga*, *maṇḍali*, *peṭha*, *prāpa*, *prāveśya*, and *sthali*. It would have been indeed splendid if it

were possible to gauge the comparative territorial limits of all these units. Unfortunately it is not possible, in spite of my best efforts to work them out. The reason is that out of nearly 200 place-names, not more than 50 can be satisfactorily identified. Consequently we cannot fix the boundaries even of the few larger units which contained these places.

At present we can say that there was at least a *viṣaya* in the Maitraka empire, of which except *Mālavaka*, the other five, *Antaratrā*, *Kheṭaka*, *Siṁhabhāgapura*, Suryapura, and *Surāṣṭra* were in Gujarat. The territory around *Varddhamāna*, modern Wadhwan, formed a *bhukti*. This may have been from the Gupta times. Hastavapra, (Greek Astakampra),[1] modern Hathab, near Bhavnagar, formed the head-quarters of an *āhāra*, as also *Kheṭaka* (Kaira). There were no less than 9 *pathakas* and 16 *sthalis*, besides a *peṭha*, a *prāpa*, 2 *prāveśyas*, a *bhūmi*, a *draṅga*, and a *maṇḍali*. It would be really interesting to find out the relation between a *pathaka* and a *sthali*. The present Vanthli must have formed formerly the head quarters of the *Vāmana-sthali* from which it is derived.

This brief review of the territorial units in Gujarat-Kathiawar from about 300 B.C. to 970 A.D. shows that though we get more and more details about the units, as we enter the early mediaeval period, these details are not such as to enable us to form a definite idea of the size of a *pathaka*, *viṣaya* or *maṇḍala* during a particular period.

Fortunately some of the inscriptions of the Caulukyas or Solankis, under whom the whole of Gujarat-Kathiawar came to be unified, supply us data, with which most of Northern Gujarat, especially that portion which is within the Baroda State can be properly studied, and its territorial and administrative divisions worked out.

Formation of Caulukya Empire

Before I enter into these details and frame the different units and sub-units, it is necessary to have a picture before us of the Caulukya empire. Here too we are fortunate. We can actually, step by step, see how the whole empire was built up, just as we can now show how the British empire, or the Mughal empire was formed.

[1] SCHOFF, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, 39.

It is well known that *Mūlarāja* overthrew the *Cāvaḍās* or *Cāpotkaṭas* and established himself in their kingdom. The kingdom is traditionally called Panchasar; its capital being *Aṇahilapāṭaka* (Anhilvad). This is now sandwiched between Radhanpur and Harij-Patan *Mahāls* of the Baroda State. The earliest Caulukya inscription calls this territory *Sārasvata-maṇḍala*, the province formed by or in the Sarasvati valley. Such a small, semi-arid country could hardly satisfy an ambitious and powerful general like *Mūlarāja*. He thought of subjugating his neighbours. The circumstances were favourable for this venture. For the Gurjara-*Pratihāra* empire was tottering to pieces, or had already gone and he was probably one of its surviving generals.

So having established himself in the *Sārasvata maṇḍala*, he conquered Satyapura-*maṇḍala*, that is, the country to the north of the Sarasvati valley, the territory round about modern Sanchor, in the Jodhpur or Marwar State, thus linking up Anhilvad once again with *Bhinnamāla* and parts of parent Gujarat.

Mūlarāja's son *Bhīma I* acquired Kaccha-*maṇḍala*, i.e. Cutch, and *Karṇa*, his son and successor annexed *Lāṭa-maṇḍala*. *Jayasiṁha Siddharāja* conquered *Surāṣṭra-maṇḍala*, Avanti, *Bhāilasvāmi-mahādvādasaka*, (that is the whole of Malwa), Dadhipadra-*maṇḍala* (i.e. modern Panchmahal District with Dohad) and some *maṇḍala* (not named), in Rajputana comprising modern Jodhpur and Udaipur States. His successors *Kumārapāla* and *Ajayapāla* retained their hold over these far-flung provinces constituting modern Gujarat, Kathiawar, Cutch, Malwa and southern Rajputana. Later rulers, *Bhīma II*, *Vīradhavala*, and others' control over Malwa, Southern Rajputana and even *Lāṭa* was precarious. It was often challenged and at times wrested by the *Paramāras*, *Cāhamānas*, and *Yādavas* of Devagiri. Nevertheless till the very end, A.D. 1296, Cutch and Kathiawar remained part of the Caulukya empire whose core was northern Gujarat.

A *maṇḍala*, it would appear, was the largest territorial division, corresponding to a modern province, though at times *Lāṭa* and *Surāṣṭra* are called *deśas* and Gurjjara (the whole of Gujarat?) a *maṇḍala*. But this may be while referring to *Surāṣṭra* or *Lāṭa* in a certain independent context. Their position in the empire was that of a *maṇḍala* or a province.

The units smaller than the *maṇḍala* were the following, in a descending order: *viṣaya*, *pathaka*, group of villages and a village. Ordinarily the limits of a *viṣaya* and those of a *pathaka* were fixed, but at times what was once a *viṣaya* was called a *pathaka* and *vice versa*.

Absence of units like *āhāra*, *draṅga*, *maṇḍali*, *sthali*, *prāpa* and *prāveśya* which were current during the *Valabhī* period is surprising, and can be explained either on the score of insufficient evidence from Kathiawar, or on the ground that these units were a special feature of the Maitraka administration, which became obsolete after their fall.

However, the units *maṇḍala*, *viṣaya* and *pathaka* coming down from a hoary antiquity, lasted all through the Solanki period until the advent of the Muslims. And it is remarkable that the term *maṇḍala* was used at this period exactly in the same sense, viz., that of a province or state, either independent or vassal, as described in the *Arthaśāstra* of *Kauṭalya*.

We have seen what different units constituted the Caulukya or Solanki empire. Let us go over them again with a view to fixing their boundaries.

Identification of the Mandalas

The very first *maṇḍala* to be mentioned is the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala*. It is a pity that so far there is only one reference to it, but in the absence of any contradictory evidence I am inclined to think that this *maṇḍala*, at the zenith and even till the very end of the Caulukya power, included most of the Mehsana or Kadi *prānt* of the Baroda State, plus probably the States of Radhanpur, to the west of Patan or Harij *mahāl*, and Palanpur in the north of Patan and Siddhpur *mahāls*, and minus the Dehgam and other *mahāls* of the State. Roughly the *maṇḍala* formed the portion between the north-east to south-west flowing Banas and the north-southwest flowing Sabarmati. The northernmost point was perhaps *Dhāṇada*, the capital of the *Dhāṇada-āhāra-pathaka*, and the southernmost *Līlāpura* or say our present Viramgam. The second *maṇḍala* was the Satyapura-*maṇḍala*. Only its capital (?) Satyapura can be definitely identified with modern Sanchor[1] in the

[1] Thus "*Saccapura*> *Saccaüra*,> *Sañcaura*> *Sācaur*, *Sācor*," S.K.C.

Jodhpur State. There are no other references to it, nor many references to the subdivisions contained within it, so that its probable limits cannot be given. It might have encompassed most of the present Jodhpur State.

The Kaccha-*maṇḍala* stands for the State of Cutch, but it is not absolutely certain if the *Surāṣṭra-maṇḍala*, throughout the Caulukya period, stood for the whole of Kathiawar, or merely its southern portion.

Identification of the few places occurring in inscriptions shows that at least the southern half of Kathiawar was included in *Saurāṣṭra-maṇḍala*. Perhaps Dhavalakka (Dholka)—which is once said to be in the Gurjjara-*maṇḍala* formed the northernmost point of this *maṇḍala*. But I cannot be specific. The information is so meagre, and I would therefore confine myself to the enumeration of the places identified by me in *Saurāṣṭra-maṇḍala*.

Thus an inscription of *Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1202, mentions *Srī Maṅgalapura*, *Corīyavāḍa*, Valija, *Lāṭhivadra-pathaka Vīsaṇavelī-grāma*, *Srī Vāmanasthali* and *Talārā*, which can be respectively identified with Mangrol, Chorwad, Balej, Latodra, and Wisanvel, Vanthli, and Talodra. All these places are within a radius of 4 to 10 miles from Mangrol, on the south-west coast of Kathiawad.

About 60 years later, a record of *Bhīma* II's time, V.S. 1264, refers to places near the south-eastern coast. These are *Talājhā* (where there were temples), *Kāṁvalaïili-grāma*, *Sūna*-vadra, *Phūlasara*, *Kuṅḍhāvalī-grāma*, and *Ṭimvāṇa*. Corresponding to these we have *Talājā*, to its west the old and new *Kāmlol*, *Sālavadar*, or Sakhvadar? to its north-west, about 5 miles on the road to *Pālitāna*, *Kuṅḍhelī*, and across the Shetrunji river *Ṭimānā*, and 4½ miles to the south Phulsar. The lake *Sāṅkhaḍāsara* must have been built by or after *Sākhaḍā*, who is mentioned in the inscription. All the places are situated in the Bhavnagar State.

Another inscription of *Bhīma II's* time grants land in *Ākavaliyā-grāma*, to the north of which was *Bhūharaḍā*, to the east *Sākāli*, south *Varaḍī*, east *Ghaṅṭelāṇā* and *Rājamārga*. These are most probably *Ānkola*, 2 miles east of Junagadh railway and 6 miles south of Jetalsar; Bhutwar, 8 miles north-west from *Ānkāla*, and 5 miles west of Jetalsar; *Sāṅkli*, 3 miles south of Jetalsar, Wadal, 4 miles south-west of *Ānkāla*,

Gātilā, 3 miles south of Shahpur junction, and the *Rājamārga*, royal highway, will be the modern Junagadh-Jetalsar road. Thus all the places are to the east of Vanthli and north of Junagadh.

A third inscription mentions *Samaḍiyā*, which I would identify with *Samadhiāla*, 11 miles south-east of Vanthli.

Finally we have *Bhadrāṇaka* in a record of V.S. 1275 which is identified with *Bharāṇā*, under Jamnagar.

Khetaka Mandala

Three other *maṇḍalas* present a similar difficulty. We do not know whether their boundaries overlapped or not. These are the *Lāṭa Narmadātaṭa* and the *Dadhipadra maṇḍalas*. There is no reference to the *Kheṭaka-maṇḍala*, which occurred so frequently during the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* period. But if its boundaries were the same as gathered from the *Paramāra* and *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* records, viz. with *Moḍāsa* in the *Prāntij Tālukā*, and Jambusara in the Broach district, then it would appear that the *Sābarmatī* was the N.E.-S.W. boundary of the *Kheṭaka maṇḍala*, separating it from the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala* and the *Mahī* was the N.E. and S.W. boundary in the south. How far eastwards it extended we cannot say for certain.

Lata Mandala

From the *Mahī* or *Narbadā* downwards extended the *Lāṭa maṇḍala* including the country along the coast and reached as far as *Navasāri*, or the *Purṇā*.

Narmada-tata Mandala

The inland country east of Dabhoi, which according to an inscription once formed part of the Gurjjara-*maṇḍala*, covering most of the valleys of the *Narmadā* and its tributaries: the Orsang, the Hiran and the Karjan, now forming the eastern half of the Baroda *Prānt*, and some parts of the *Rājpipla* and perhaps the Chhota Udaipur and Baria States, might have constituted the *Narmadā-taṭa-maṇḍala*. Unless more material comes forth either in the shape of Caulukya records relating to this region, or of their contemporaries, particularly the *Paramāras* who often controlled this region, the eastern, northern, and southern boundaries of this *maṇḍala* cannot be fixed.

Dadhipadra and Godrahaka Mahamandala

The above remarks would hold good of the Dadhi-*padra-maṇḍala* also. It must lie north of the *Narmadātaṭa-maṇḍala*. What we know for certain is that Godrahaka (Godhra) stood on the eastern frontier of the *maṇḍala*. And the whole of the *maṇḍala* most probably acted as a buffer state between Gujarat and Malwa.

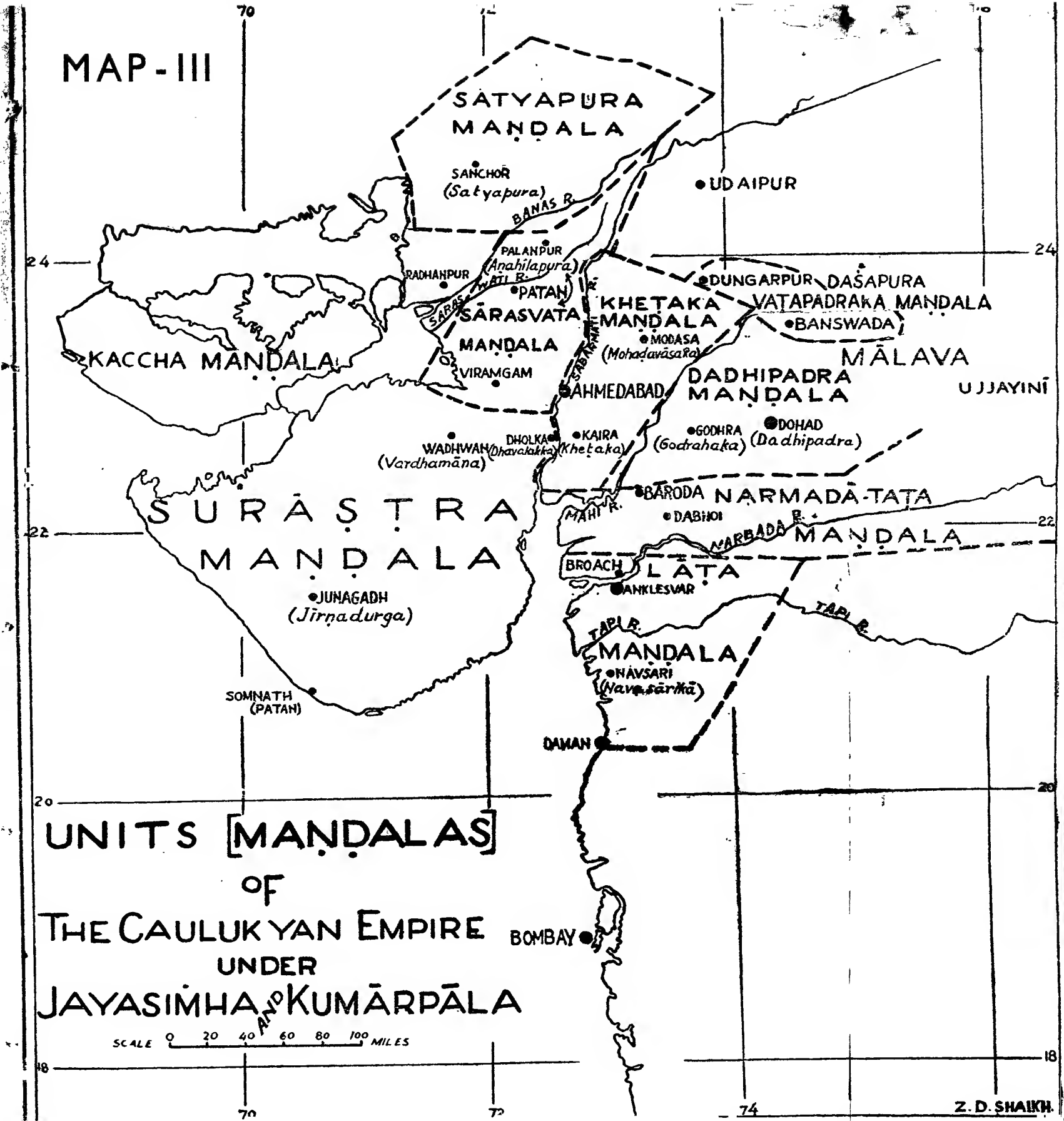
Malwa was represented once by *Avantī-maṇḍala*, and once by *Bhāillasvāmi-12-maṇḍala*. If *Avantī* is identified with Ujjain, and *Bhāillasvāmi* with Bhilsa we have a fairly large region stretching roughly from longitude 76° to 78°.

From this detailed survey the following approximate equivalents may be proposed.

Sārasvata-maṇḍala	=Mehsana *Prānt*, Radhanpur and Palanpur States minus Dehgam *Tālukā*.
Satyapura-*maṇḍala*	=Jodhpur State.
Kheṭaka-maṇḍala	=The districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, and northern part of Broach district.
Lāṭa-maṇḍala	=Southern half of Broach district, Surat district and the northern part of Thana district.
Narmadā-taṭa-maṇḍala	=Eastern part of the Broach district, the territory on either side of the Narbada, comprising parts of Rajpipla State, and *Saṅkheda Tālukā*.
Dadhipadra-*maṇḍala* and Godrahaka-*mahā-maṇḍala*	=Most of the Panchmahal district, and probably parts of Jhabua, Ratlam and other States.
Avanti and *Bhāillasvāmi-12--maṇḍala*	=Malwa.

Sarasvata Mandala and its Subdivisions

Of this extensive empire, I am able to work out the further subdivisions and their divisions in the case of one *maṇḍala* or province only. This is the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala*, which I have called "the home province of the Caulukyas." It really formed the backbone of the empire as it forms of real Gujarat even now. Of course we cannot ignore Baroda and Surat, but both culturally and materially Ahmedabad holds the


MAP-III
SATYAPURA MANDALA
SANCHOR (Satyapura)
BANAS R.
UDAIPUR
PALANPUR (Anahilapura)
RADHANPUR
PATAN
SARAS
SARASVATA MANDALA
KHETAKA MANDALA
DUNGARPUR
DAŚAPURA
VATAPADRAKA MANDALA
BANSWADA
MODASA (Mohadavāsaka)
KACCHA MANDALA
VIRAMGAM
SABARMATI R.
AHMEDABAD
DADHIPADRA MANDALA
MĀLAVA
UJJAYINĪ
GODHRA (Godrahaka)
DOHAD (Dadhipadra)
DHOLKA (Dhavalakka)
KAIRA (Kheṭaka)
WADHWAN (Vardhamāna)
BARODA
NARMADĀ-TAPTA MAHI R.
DABHOI
NARBADA R.
MANDALA
SURĀṢṬRA MANDALA
BROACH
LĀṬA
ANKLESVAR
JUNAGADH (Jīrṇadurga)
TAPI R.
MANDALA
NAVSARI (Navasārikā)
SOMNATH (PATAN)
DAMAN
BOMBAY
UNITS [MANDALAS] OF THE CAULUKYAN EMPIRE UNDER JAYASIMHA AND KUMĀRPĀLA
SCALE 0 20 40 60 80 100 MILES
70
72
74
24
22
20
18
Z. D. SHAIKH.

place which *Anhilvād* held during Caulukya period. For this Ahmedabad should be grateful to its Sultans.

A *maṇḍala*, i.e., a province, was usually divided into *viṣayas*, i.e. districts, and the latter into *pathakas* i.e. *tālukās* or *mahāls*. Though this was the practice we find mention of only two *viṣayas*: Varddhi and *Gaṁbhutā*. Both these are mentioned in early inscriptions only. *Gaṁbhutā-viṣaya* is referred to in an inscription of *Mūlarāja*,[1] and Varddhi-*visaya* twice, once in an inscription of *Mūlarāja* and once in that of *Bhīma I. Gaṁbhutā* is identified with *Gāṁbhu* on the *Pusmāvatī* in the Chanasma *mahāl* of the Mehsana *Prānt*. Varddhi was identified by BUEHLER with Vaddhiar, the name of a tract lying between the Radhanpur and Baroda State borders. I do not agree with this identification, because it is not linguistically correct. However, there is no doubt that the *Gaṁbhutā-viṣaya* lay to the south of the *Sarasvatī* river; and the limits of the Varddhi extended as far as the *Banās* in the north. What the exact boundaries of these *viṣayas* were we do not know for want of more and detailed information.

Subsequent records of the Caulukyas and Vaghelas do not refer to any *viṣaya* in this *Sārasvaā-maṇḍala*. Both Varddhi and *Gaṁbhutā* are called *pathakas*. Why this was done we cannot say. It would appear that it was found advisable for administrative and other purposes to divide the whole *maṇḍala* into a number of smaller units, called *pathakas*.

Thus we meet with the names of seven *pathakas*:— viz. *Cālisā*, *Daṇḍāhī*, *Dhāṇada*, *Gaṁbhūtā*, *Vālauya*, Varddhi and *Viṣaya*. Identification of the place-names within these *pathakas* has enabled me to determine with more or less certainty the limits of each *pathaka*, and lead me to think that these *pathakas* between themselves covered almost the whole of the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala*. I will briefly mention the details about each *pathaka* and its limits.

Dhanada-Ahara Pathaka

I would first take up the *Dhāṇada-āhāra-pathaka*, which is the first *pathaka* to be mentioned as such, and which formed the northern-

[1] *VOJ*, V. 300.

most part of the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala*. An inscription published 10 years ago tells us that *Bhīma I* while ruling the *Dhāṅada-āhāra-pathaka* granted the village of *Varaṇāvāḍā*. Most luckily we can identify both these places, the village granted, and the capital of the *pathaka*. *Dhāṇada* is *Dhānda*, about 10 miles east of *Pālanpur*. Even now it seems to be a big place, larger than the surrounding villages. *Varaṇāvāḍā* is *Varnvāḍa*, about 3 miles south of *Dhānda*. Unfortunately the places to the west and east of *Varaṇavāḍā*, viz. *Chhīṁdriyāla-grāma* and *Vāra-asavalī* cannot be located. Probably they have disappeared now. Though this is the only reference to this *pathaka*, we can roughly fix its boundaries by plotting other *pathakas*. According to Mirza Muhammad, (whose father was Waqa'-i-nigar, or Chief Reporter under Prince Jahander Shah of Gujarat in 1708 A. D., the author himself becoming the Dewan of the province in 1747 A.D.), the author of *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* (*Supplement*, p. 206), the area covering Palanpur, Deesa, and Santiwara was in former times called Dhandar, which must be the same as our *Dhāṇada*.

Dandahi and Visaya Pathakas

The *pathaka* immediately south of the *Dhāṇada-āhāra pathaka* was called *Daṅḍāhī-pathaka*. We have had two references to it: one in the time of *Bhīma II* dated v. s. 1256, the other in the time of *Tribhuvanapāla*, a stop-gap king who ruled for a few years during the chaos, dated v. s. 1290. *Bhīma's* record refers to *Mahisāṇā-grāma* which is no other than our *Mehasana*, a railway junction and the chief town of the *prānt* and *tālukā* of that name. While this record gives a few details only some of which can be satisfactorily identified, *Tribhuvanapāla's* record while granting the village *Bhāṁṣara* gives its boundaries in great details, even mentioning the places in the sub-directions. In all 10 places are mentioned and fortunately all these can be identified. Thus *Bhāṁṣara* is *Bhākhar*. To its north lay *Dāsayaja* and *Kāmbalī*. These are *Dāsaj*, north of *Bhākhar* and *Kāmbolī*, n.w. of *Bhākhar*. To the east were *Kuralī* and *Dāsayaja*. Of these *Kuralī* cannot be identified. I suspect that its place has been taken away by Ranchhodpura, which by its name is a new place-name. In the south stood *Kuralī* and Tribha. Of these Tribha is Tarabh, about 4 miles south-s.e. from *Bhākhar*. To the west were *Araṭhaüra* and

Uñjhā. These are respectively Aithor, 3 miles s.w. and *Uñjhā*, 2 miles s.w. of *Bhākhar*.

The same inscription grants another village, *Rājapuri*, to the north of which was *Naṅdāvasaṇa*, to its n.e. *Kuïla*, to its east *Kūlāvasaṇa* and *Dāṅgarïā*; to its s.e. *Caṇḍāvasaṇa* and *Indrāvaḍa*; to its south *Āhirāṇā* and west *Sirasāvi* and *Naṅdāvasaṇa*, and n.w. *Sirasāvi* and *Uṅṭaïyā*. The scribe or the writer has made a slight mistake in indicating the directions of some of the places. But out of the 12, 10 places can be still located. These are in the order following the above, *Rājpur*, *Nandāsan*, Kiol, Jhulasan, *Dāṅgarwa*, *Chadāsan*, *Idrād*, *Irāna*, Sarsav, and Utaw respectively. All these villages (*grāmas*) are within a radius of 3 to 5 miles from *Rājpur*. We are told that the first 10 places were situated witnin the *Daṅḍāhī-pathaka*, and the 12 mentioned subsequently, while granting *Rājapuri*, in the *Viṣaya-pathaka*. This is the only reference to this *pathaka*. But the places within these *pathakas* determine the latter's position and extent. Perhaps both these *pathakas* are referred to in the *Praśasti* of a palm-leaf manuscript of *Mahāpurisa-Cariya*, written during *Kumārapāla's* reign in V.S. 1227.[1] That *Daṅḍāhī* was once the name of a sub-division is mentioned in the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* (*Supplement*, p. 206). There we are told that "In the kingdom of Gujarat most areas are specially named, and wonderful stories are told about their origin of those names. (Thus) Dandai (included) Pargana Kadi and its neighbourhood."

The places in the *Daṅḍāhī-pathaka* lie partly in the modern Sidhpur, Visanagar and Mehsana *mahāls*; while those in the *Viṣaya-pathaka* like in the *Kaḍi mahāl*. But I believe that the river *Khāri* was the northernmost boundary of the *Viṣaya-pathaka*, its *southern* boundary probably being the *Sābarmatī*. *Indrāvaḍa* (*Indrād*) and *Caṅḍāvasaṇa* (*Chadāsan*), or perhaps Kalol stood on the southern frontiers. For the territory south of Kalol, extending as far as the *Sābarmatī*, constituted another unit, called the *Cālisā-pathaka*. We glean this fact from an inscription of *Bhīma II*, dated V.S. 1283. While governing *Cālisā pathaka* he granted the village of *Natāïlī*, to the north and west of which were situated *Vaḍasara* and *Oṁkurāla grāmas*, and to

[1] *Jaina Pustaka Praśastisaṁgraha*, Ed. by Sri JINAVIJAYJI MUNI, Singhi Jain Series, No. 18, (Bombay 1942), 110.

the south *Avayāṇija* and *Cuyāṁtija*. Of these *Vaḍasara* is Vadsar in the Kalol *mahāl*. To its south lie Khatraj, *Jeṭhalaj* and *Sāṁtaj* which evidently occupy the position of *Avayānija* and *Cuyāṁtija*. The ending *-ja* of the old and the modern place-names suggest that these places are related to each other.

Calisa Pathaka

Cālisā, after which the *pathaka* was named is perhaps represented by Chalisan or Chalasan, now the northern-most village in the Kadi *mahāl*. If this identification turns out to be correct, then the *Cālisā-pathaka* comprised partly the present Kadi and Kalol *mahāls*.

Varddhi Pathaka

To the west and north-west of this *pathaka* was situated the Varddhi *pathaka*. From the identification of the places mentioned in four records, one of *Jayaṁtasiṁha* dated v.s. 1280, two of *Bhīma II*, dated v.s. 1295 and 1296, and one of *Vīsaladeva*, dated v.s. 1317 this has proved to be the best worked out *pathaka*. Not only we know well its four boundaries, but practically all the places within it during the Caulukya period.

It is not necessary to mention all the places. It would suffice if I refer to some of the important places within it.

Its Capital

The capital or chief town of the Varddhi-*pathaka* from which a number of grants were made was *Maṁḍalī*. It is difficult to identify with certainty whether this *Maṁḍalī* represents *Māṁdal* in the Viramgam *tālukā*, or *Maṁḍali* of the Chansma *mahāl*. One record of *Bhīma II* cites one *Maṁḍalī* as a place situated to the west of *Ghūsaḍi* village in which were built the temples of *Vīrameśvara* and *Sūmaleśvara*. At this place now stands *Māṁdal*. Topographically *Māṁdal* seems to be the old capital, while in favour of *Maṁḍali* of the Chanasma *mahāl* we have nothing but identity of name. The author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* (*Supplement*, p. 164), while giving details about the Pargana Viramgam, or Jhalawar says, "In former days the chief town was *Māṁḍal*, then the headquarters were removed to Viramgam." This would show *Māṁḍal's* identification with the *Maṁḍalī* of Caulukya

records is correct, and that even after the Caulukya period *Maṅḍalī* had remained the chief town of the unit.

Old Name of Viramgam

Viramgam itself, the chief town of the *tālukā* of that name, and the frontier town on ancient Kathiawar-Gujarat junction, is a comparatively new place though the site it occupied is probably very old. Even during the Caulukya period the place was known as *Ghūsaḍi grāma*. Even when *Bhīma* built the temple of *Vīrameśvara* there, a *Śiva* temple named after *Vīrama*, the place was called by its old name. Subsequently however the old name was forgotten. Now we know it as Viramgam, evidently after the temple of *Vīrameśvara*.

This *Ghūsaḍi* or Viramgam formed perhaps the southern outpost of the Varddhi-*pathaka* and stood on the royal highway to Kathiawar, as it does now. The inscription specifically says that the *rājamārga* lay to its east and south. All the places to its north—*Bhojuyā*, *Kāliānā*, *Nānā-Ubhaḍā*, *Dheḍāsan* for instance, are mentioned, the two latter are called *Laghu-Ubhaḍā* and *Ṭheḍhavasaṇa* respectively. Leaving other places in the interior I would mention the places on its northern end. These were *Sūrayaja*, *Sāṁpavāḍā*, *Ādhivāḍā*, *Salakhaṇapura*, Vahicara and *Hāṁsalaspura*. All these are represented by Suraj, *Sāṁpavāḍa*, *Adhivāḍā*, Sankhalpur, *Behcharāji*, and Hasalpur respectively.

The Varddhi-*pathaka* thus covered almost the half of the Chanasma *mahāl* and the Viramgam *tālukā*. The *saṅgama* of the *Khāri*, Rupen and Pusmavati constituted its northern end. The southern end included besides Viramgam, the villages of *Līlāpura*, *Karīrā* and *Mālakatari*. For at the first-mentioned place, *Līlāpura*, *Līlādevī*, a daughter of *Samarasiṁha*, and wife of *Bhīma II* had built the temples of *Līleśvara* and *Bhīmeśvara*, named evidently after herself and her husband. All these villages are situated to the south of Viramgam. *Līlāpura* has retained its original name, while the other two are called Karela and Malika respectively.

Gambhuta Pathaka

The north-eastern boundary of the Varddhi-*pathaka* is indicated by another unit, called *Gāṁbhutā-pathaka*. In all 5 inscriptions mention these *pathakas* but only three inscriptions give details from which we can form an extent of the *pathaka*. An inscription of *Mūla-*

rāja II, dated V. S. 1193, so far the only record known of this king who succeeded *Ajayapāla*, is addressed to the officers of the *Gaṁbhutā pathaka*. In the address the places *Kāroḍā* and *Bāṁbhaṇavāḍā* are referred to. Villages bearing identical names still exist in the north-eastern part of the Chanasma *mahāl*. *Bhīma II's* inscription of V. S. 1263 and of *Jayaṁtasiṁha* mention the villages of *Seṣadevatā*, *Ghāriyāvali*, *Deülavāḍā*, *Ḍoḍiyā pāṭaka*, *Iṭilā*, *Kālhari*, *Phīṁchaḍi* and Vahicara. All these places, almost retaining their Caulukyan, 12th-13th century form, lie in and around the *Khāri*, *Pusmāvatī* and Rupen doab. *Ḍoḍiāvāḍa*, 12 miles S. W. of *Gāṁbhu*, the chief town of the *pathaka* and *Seṣadevatīgrāma* lay on the west S. W. frontier of the *pathaka*. We have seen that the village of *Kālhari*, and Vahicara were mentioned while defining the limits of a village granted in the Varddhi-*pathaka*. Were this all, the *Gaṁbhutā-pathaka* would be very small indeed. For it would correspond to a little more than half of the Chanasma *mahāl*. But I believe that the villages of *Saṁdera*, *Sūnaka*, and Laghu-*Ḍābhi*, which lie in the S.E. and S.W. corners of the present Patan and Sidhpur *mahāls* were originally comprised within the *Gaṁbhutā pathaka*, *Sūnaka* and *Ḍābhi* touching on the north-eastern border of the *pathaka*, beyond which were *Uñjhā* and *Araṭhaura* of the *Daṇḍāhī-pathaka*. How much due northwards the *pathaka* extended we cannot say. Perhaps the whole of the present Chanasma *mahāl* was definitely included in it. A few miles further north lay the capital of the *maṇḍala* and empire—*Aṇahila-pattana* or *-pāṭaka* or -pura, modern Patan. Did it constitute a separate unit, like the present Delhi district, or was it included in the *Gaṁbhutā-pathaka*? *Gaṁbhutā* after which the *pathaka* is named is now called merely *Gāṁbhū*. It lies on the left bank of the *Pushmāvatī* river. Another important place in this *pathaka* was *Moḍhera* or *Muḍhera*. In the time of *Mūlarāja I* it was included in Varddhi-*viṣaya*. It was the home of the Brahmanas and Vanikas of that name. And here *Karṇa I* had built the famous temple of the Sun, the finest piece of architecture in N. Gujarat. The ruins of this temple still exist.

Valauya Pathaka

The last *pathaka* that we know of, and probably the last *pathaka* in the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala* is the *Vālauya-pathaka*. Only one inscrip-

tion refers to this *pathaka*. Here in V. S. 1288 *Bhīma II* granted a village, the name of which is lost; west of this village was *Rāṇāvāḍā*, now called *Raṇāvādā*, to north *Uṅdirā* and *Āṅgaṇavāḍā*, the present *Uṅdara* and *Āṅgaṇavāḍā* respectively; to the east *Sāṁparā*, and *Chhatrāharū*, the present *Sāṁprā*, and *Chhatrāra* respectively. All these villages lie to the east-s.e. of the Banas and are included in the Patan *mahāl*. They and the river might have formed the westernmost border of the *pathaka*. *Vālauya*, the chief town of the *pathaka*, I identify with *Bālavā*, about 12 miles east of *Āṅgaṇavāḍā*, and on the left bank of the small Bahi river. Though no further details are available, I believe that the *Vālauya pathaka* probably included most of the northern half of the present Patan and Sidhpur *mahāls*, and so included all the territory to the east of the *Dhāṇada-āhāra-pathaka*.

We had started on our tour of reconstructing the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala* and the sub-units within it with this *pathaka*. In arriving back to it we have gone over all the territory lying between the latitudes 23° and 24°, to the west of the *Sābarmatī* river.

It is perhaps significant that no Caulukya inscription has so far mentioned a place east of the *Sābarmatī* river. It not only suggests that the *Sābarmatī* formed the eastern frontier of the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala* but that the country to the east of the *Sābarmatī*, though at times within the empire, was always a bone of contention between the Caulukyas and rulers of Malwa.

Even for a fuller knowledge of the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala* we should have names of places and the name of the *pathaka* which lay within what is now called the *Kherālu* and *Vijāpur mahāls*. So far the place nearest to the *Sābarmatī* known from Caulukya inscriptions is *Lāṅgaṇaijya* or Langhnaj, the scene of the recent unique pre-historic finds in India.

Save for this, our knowledge of the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala* is complete. I have already sketched its geographical limits. Politically it comprised the Mehsana Prant, (minus the Dehgam *tālukā*) of the Baroda State, parts of *Pālanpur* and *Rādhanpur* States and the Viramgam *tālukā*. The Mehsana *Prānt* is divided into, beginning from the north, 1. Sidhpur, 2. Kheralu, 3. *Vijāpur*, 4. Visnagar, 5. Mehsana 6. *Kaḍi*, 7. Kalol, 8. *Chānsma*, 9. Patan, 10. Harij and 11. Dehagam *mahāls*. The last, Dehagam is really an appendage, not forming a homogeneous

whole with the other trans-*Sābarmatī* group of *mahāls*. Now just consider the number of *pathakas* which constitute the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala* and its modern equivalents.

1. *Dhāaṇda Pathaka* = Southern part of Palanpur State.
2. *Daṇḍāhī Pathaka* = Parts of Sidhpur, Visnagar and Mehsana, and perhaps Kheralu *mahāls*.
3. *Viṣaya Pathaka* = Parts of Mehsana and Kadi *mahāls*.
4. *Cālisā Pathaka* = Parts of Kadi and Kalol *mahāls*.
5. *Varddhi Pathaka* = Viramgam *tālukā* and parts of Chansma *mahāl* and perhaps of Harij.
6. *Gaṁbhutā Pathaka* = Parts of Chansma, Patan, and Sidhpur *mahāls*.
7. *Vālauya Pathaka* = Parts of Harij, Patan and Sidhpur *mahāls*.

We shall have at least one more *pathaka* when details of place-names in the *Vijāpur* and *Kherālu mahāls* come forth.

Sarasvata Mandala and Mehsana Prant

The correspondence between the size of the largest territorial unit and its sub-divisions into *mahāls*, in Northern Gujarat, of the Gaikwads of Baroda and the Caulukyas of *Aṇahilapāṭaka* is pretty close. If the former have inherited the territory of the latter, have they also unconsciously inherited their administration system? No less than 5 centuries separate the two rulers. So direct borrowing is to be definitely ruled out. But tradition, as modified by centuries of Muslim rule and administrative experiments, might have guided the framers of the Baroda administrative system.

In the time of Sultans of Gujarat the province of Gujarat consisted of 25 *sarkārs*. Akbar redistributed them into 16 *sarkārs*. Of these Pattana *sarkār* had 17 sub-divisions or *parganas*. We have actually no idea how the Gujarat Sultans had divided their province of Gujarat. But since Akbar followed the existing system, only regrouping the territory, it seems that he recognized the necessity of dividing the entire territory into sub-units.

But we have seen that this territory, at least from the 11th century, was divided into no less than 8 sub-divisions for administrative and perhaps fiscal purposes. Hence the Sultans could be said to follow the tradition current before them. If they had more sub-divisions it was because they were foreigners and for better control preferred smaller

sub-divisions. Akbar borrowed it from them when he conquered Gujarat and handed it down to the Marathas and the English.

Caulukyan Government

Reconstruction of the Caulukya empire and one of its large units, the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala*, shows the method of Caulukyan government. For better government the empire had to be divided into provinces and the provinces into sub-divisions. A comparison between the number and size of Caulukyan provinces and sub-divisions and those of the British, Gaikwad and Mughal provinces and sub-divisions has shown that the Caulukyan divisions were neither too small nor too large, considering their times when transport was much slower than today. In fact our comparison has shown a close correspondence in size between the size of the Gaikwadi *mahāls* and Caulukyan *pathakas*, and the size of the British districts and Caulukyan *maṇḍalas*.

Not only in the division of their empire, but also in the actual government of its various parts the Caulukyas exhibited a high administrative insight.

With the king was a minister called *Mahāmātya*, Saciva or Mantri. The names of several of these we know from Caulukya records. They were selected irrespective of their caste or creed. Thus a *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya* or a *Vaiśya* whether he be Hindu or Jaina could hold the appointment, though at times when the king was a bigot, partiality to a particular creed resulted, and proved ability was set aside.

The governor of a *maṇḍala* was usually called a *Maṇḍaleśvara* or *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. In normal times a civilian was selected for this post. But when the province was newly conquered or lay on the frontier which must have been turbulent and its possession precarious a *Daṅḍādhipati*, literally a commander of the forces, was appointed to such provinces. Thus under *Bhīma I*, Vimala, a *Daṅḍādhipati* was in charge of Arbuda (Mt. Abu) region, and during the reign of *Jayasiṁha*, *Vāpanadeva* held the governorship of *Dadhipadrā-maṇḍala*.

What is remarkable is the existence of practices one thousand years ago exactly recalling modern practices. As we all know the British used to appoint an army chief to what are known as non-Regulation provinces. The North-West Frontier province has only recently got a semi-democratic constitution, and India herself, due to exigencies of

time, put under an ex-Commander-in-chief. Similar needs give birth to similar results.

Each *viṣaya* or *pathaka* was placed under a separate chief who was directly responsible to its immediate superior. We are thus told that in the reign of *Vīsaladeva*, the chief of Varddhi-*pathaka*, viz., *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka Sāmantasiṁha* was subordinate to *Amātya Nāgaḍa*; whereas the chief of *Vāmanasthali*, Mahattara *Sobhanadeva*, was responsible in the first instance to *Somarāja*, the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of *Surāṣṭra*.

Territorial Units and Geographical Boundaries

What was the relation between purely geographical boundaries, such as rivers, hills, forests and territorial units? Gujarat being purely an alluvial country, there are very few hills and forests, regions which would either bar territorial expansion or which could be regarded as effective land frontiers. Consequently we do not come across a unit named after a hill or forest. But there are a number of small and big rivers in both Northern and Central Gujarat. The *doabs* formed by these rivers made a territorial unit. Some of these are expressly mentioned, e. g., the *Antaramaṇḍali*, i. e. the Purna-Mindhola *doab*, *Antara-Narmadā*, probably the Tapi (Tapti)-Narmada *doab*. Besides the larger rivers of Central and Southern Gujarat, it appears that the smaller rivers in northern Gujarat, the *Khāri*, the Rupen and the *Pushmavatī*, as the discussion of the size of the *pathakas* in the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala* shows, must have been used for fixing the size of the *pathakas*, whereas the *Banās* and *Sābarmatī* formed the western and eastern frontiers of the territory on either side of the Sarasvati, and hence it was named after the river as *Sārasvata-maṇḍala*. Another such unit was the *Narmadātaṭa-maṇḍala*.

Distribution of Population

One small but important point also comes out from the identification of the place-names in Caulukya Gujarat. This is the distribution of the population. We cannot have an idea of the number of people then inhabiting the province, for no census records, if there were any, have come down to us. But plotting the various villages on a map, together with the small and big roads, indicates that the villages were

spread over Gujarat exactly in the same position as they are now. Very few new villages seem to have sprung up between the old villages. Rather we find some deserted sites of old villages. This might have been due to migration to urban areas. Any way our inquiry shows that during the Caulukyan times Northern Gujarat was populated in an identical manner as today, which seems to be neither too thick as in Central Gujarat or too sparse as in Cutch.

Rainfall in Caulukyan Times

From the spread and distribution of the villages and population we may reasonably infer the climate, particularly rainfall, during the Caulukyan times. If the land supported as many villages as today, the quantity of rain (and the wells) which irrigated it could not have been, at least, much less than at present, but probably slightly more. A consideration of the weather reports of the last 50 years seems to favour the view that rainfall has not decreased in Gujarat, though popular view is that Northern Gujarat is slowly being desiccated. The evidence of historical geography, here pointed out, may be valued for what it is worth.

Lecture III

CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

IN the first lecture I indicated briefly that both personal names and place-names are connotative and hence have cultural significance. This significance is revealed by a classification of both the types names.

A classification of various types of places in the first instance reveals the origin of names of places.[1]

Classification of Place-names

People in Bombay need not be told how this is done. The process is daily taking place before them. What once was Girgaon Back Road is now called Vithalbhai Patel Road and the Esplanade Road is Mahatma Gandhi Road. Thus a collection and classification of present Bombay street names and the names which prevailed 50 or 100 years ago, would show how Bombay, a small village, consisting of various fishing and other communities gradually came to be inhabited by other people, trades and professions; how its various natural features, back-waters, ponds, mango-groves and onion plantations gave place to new, artificial environments, resulting from industrialization and growth of trade and business; how a village of fishermen lost its independence to the Westerners, and eulogised and immortalised its new masters by naming roads and places after them, how and when the national renaissance took place and expressed itself by renaming the places after events and persons.[2] In short what a kaleidoscopic view of Bombay's history would its street names reveal!! Perhaps we are too near its past to make such an attempt, for Bombay is hardly 300 years old.

[1] Dr. AGRAWALA also after his study of the geographical data in *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* says, "The Analysis which *Pāṇini* gives of the underlying meanings which relate place-names to human society, shows conclusively that place-names do not originate by mere accident, but are the outcome of social and historical conditions with which a community is intimately connected. An etymological approach to the place-names of a country therefore introduces us to many a forgotten chapter of history and ethnography." *JUPHS*, XVI. ii.

[2] SHEPHARD, *Bombay* (Times of India Press).

The names so gathered may fall into the following groups:

I. (i) *Place-names after a person*—hero, saint, tribal leader.
(ii) -do- -do- a deity.
(iii) -do- -do- a spirit.
(iv) -do- -do- tribes or peoples.

II. (i) *Place-names after an event*—auspicious occasion, bad occasion.

III. *Place-names after customs and superstitions.*

IV. *Place-names after geographical and physical features* :
(i) Place-names after hills, mountains, mounds or any elevated place.
(ii) -do- rivers, streams, lakes and ponds.
(iii) -do- forests, deserts, steppes etc.

V. *Place-names after flowers, fruits, trees and crops.*

VI. *Place-names after animals, birds and reptiles.*
(i) Animals.
(ii) Birds.
(iii) Reptiles.

VII. *Place-names after names of existing places.*[1]

Just imagine what a picture of the past and present culture of a region would be available, could we but classify its place-names in as many groups as mentioned above. Its main political, social, physical, economical and zoological and botanical life would spring before us.

Thus the study of place-names involves three processes. We may first try to fix the significance of place-names by analysing their name-contents, then group them according to their suffixes, and finally arrive at their full significance by a synthesis of the above results. Plotting these out on a map of the region we may glean how the place-name pattern has or has not (?) been affected by the culture of the region.

[1] Dr. CHATTERJI would suggest the following classification:—
(i) Place-names from tribes or castes living there originally.
(ii) Place-names from names of natural features.
(iii) - Do - a religious character.
(iv) - Do - after names of persons or events.
(v) - Do - copied from other place-names.
But for the sake of convenience I have preserved the classification first made by me.

Suffixes of Inscriptional Place-names

I propose first to classify the suffixes of all the inscriptional place-names—from 300 B.C. to 1300 A.D. Then take up the classification of the suffixes of modern place-names in Northern Gujarat which have been gathered so far from the Baroda divisions in Gujarat and Kathiawar. A comparison of the identifiable place-names from the former group with the latter group will explain the origin and the transformation the latter has undergone through the centuries and also lead to the understanding of similar modern place-names. Then will follow the attempt to fix the significance of place-names old and new, which ultimately, I hope, will give an insight into the pattern of place-names in Northern Gujarat.

I would proceed chronologically, dynasty by dynasty following as far as possible a geographical order, mentioning the number and types or classes of places.

Names of Countries

The *Aśokan* edicts at Girnar contain no place-names. Out of the 12 *Kṣatrapa* inscriptions, the famous inscription of *Rudradāman* mentions a number of countries, including *Surāṣṭra, Akarāvanti, Anūpa, Ānarta, Aparānta,* besides Girinagara, the mountain *Ūrjayat,* and the river *Suvarṇasikātā.* These places, particularly countries, have been identified before with a view to understand the political history of the *Kṣatrapa* and pre-*Kṣatrapa* period. Since my object is the interpretation of names themselves I would confine myself to pointing out their cultural significance.

Anūpa is evidently a name after a geographical feature, a fitting name for the coastal sea-board: *anūpa* meaning "near the water;" *Aparānta,* the western country, after its position on the Indian continent.

I am tempted to think that the name "Kaccha"[1] is also of this type. One of the meanings of Kaccha is bank or shore, or any ground bordering on water. If this implies the land which has come up from the

[1] It is mentioned by *Pāṇini* (IV. 2. 133), and " refers to the towns also ending in *Kaccha* (IV. 2. 126). These were situated mostly along the coast. The inhabitants were known as *Kācchaka,* and reference to their manner of laugh and talk is found in the *Kāśikā* illustrating their personal peculiarities or mannerisms." AGRAWALA, *op. cit.* p. 31.

sea-bed, then the recent geological history of Cutch bears witness to that land having undergone such uplifts and depressions.

We have the word *kaccha* in Maru-kaccha and Bharu-kaccha. Geologically the Rajputana desert is the remains of an inland sea. So in this case too the name seems to be due to the geographical features of the land, *maru* meaning desert, arid, sandy land; *kaccha*, "that which has come up from the sea".

The land strip on the Western coast, where Bharu-kaccha or Broach is situated belongs geologically to the Tertiary period, and is comparatively of recent times, a result possibly of the retreat of the Arabian Sea.

This geological phenomenon fits in very well with the tradition that Konkan sea-board once formed part of the sea, and was recovered by *Paraśurāma*, a *Bhārgava*. But it appears that this attribution of the result to a *Bhṛgu* is of a later date. Originally, at least from the 1st century to the 8th century the place was called 'Bharukaccha', as the inscriptions of the *Kṣaharātas*, *Kṣatrapas*, *Gurjjaras*, *Kaṭaccūris*, *Maitrakas* and *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* record and are testified to by the *Mahābhārata*, *Mahāmayūri*, *Divyāvadāna*, and early Jaina literature. And this was in accordance with the purely geographical features of the land; while the word *bharu* itself, according to PRZYLUSKI,[1] (as pointed out by Dr. KATRE), has Austro-Asiatic features. In this connection it is worth noting the tradition in *Divyāvadāna*, a Buddhist work of about the 5th-6th century, cited by Dr. AGRAWALA.[2] According to this, Bhirukaccha was founded by one Bhiruka, after the ruin of the city of Raunika. The *S'udras* are thus credited with the establishment of this place.

According to the *Mahābhārata* the residents of Bharukacca[3] brought presents of *Gāndhāra* horses to *Yudhiṣṭhira* at the *Rājasūya* sacrifice.

However, the word came to be completely sanskritized as is shown by an 8th century *Cāhamāna* inscription (and *Purāṇas*) which calls it *Bhṛgukaccha*.[4] Compare also *Aṅkuleśvara* (modern *Aṅkleshwar*) in

[1] "Emprunts Anaryens en Indo-Aryen" *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique* (30, 1929), 197. The *Jātakas*, Vol. II (Text, FAUSBOLL p. 171) mention one *Bharuraṭṭha*.

[2] *JUPHS*, XV. 33.

[3] It is be noted that none of the readings (*MBH. Sabhā Parvan*, Ed. by EDGERTON, Poona, 1944, II.47.8) mentions *Bhṛgukaccha*.

[4] EI, XII. 197.

early Gurjjara records, which was later sanskritized into *Akṛureśvara*. The modern name is derived from the former. Whatever view is taken, there seems to be little doubt that Kaccha, and Maru, and Bharukaccha owe their names to geographical features of the land, and that the modern name 'Bharoch' is derived from Bharukaccha.

Surāṣṭra might have been applied to the country in S.W. Kathiawar, because of the natural fertility of the land. Even now *Soraṭh*, as it is called in the vernacular, is famous for its rich crops of all kinds, and splendid cattle.

Does *Sauvīra* suggest a country of good warriors? Sind and the adjacent country to the north and north-west are still noted for their ferocious, bold, martial races.

Sindhu is after the famous Sindhu, and the territory till now retains this name. Thus all the place-names are after rivers and other physiographical features of the land.

All the names above discussed are of the descriptive type, and as the features described still form a prominent part of the land described, I venture to suggest that the explanations are not purely fanciful.

Ānartta is supposed to stand for Northern Gujarat, including part of Kathiawad. Its cultural significance lies in this that it seems to corroborate the *Purāṇic* account, according to which the country came to be called '*Ānartta*' after the son of *Śaryāta* and *Sukanyā*, the former a very ancient *Āryan* tribe mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. It further illustrates that the country had been Aryanized at least some centuries ago and known by its Aryan name, so as to be recorded in a 2nd century inscription by that name.

Most of these names are known from the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas*, so a long tradition is behind them, and the inscription proves that it is at least 2000 years old.

The countries of South India are not mentioned by name, but the whole country south of the Vindhyas is called *Dakṣiṇāpatha*—a descriptive and a directional name.

The remaining three names—Girinagara, *Ūrjayat*, and *Suvarṇasikatā*—are also of this nature. What is now *Junāgaḍh* was, before the 13th century, called Girinagara, a city on or at the foot of a hill. This hill was called *Ūrjayat*. Now we call the hill Girnar (a) and the town *Junā-*

gaḍh. Thus we have transferred the name of the town to the hill, whereas the town is called by the 13th century name of the fort, viz. *Jīrṇa-durga*. But the old names were more appropriate. Girnar is certainly a misfit.

The river which flows from the hill was called *Suvarṇasikatā*. Its present name is *Sonrekhā*, thus the first part of the river's name has remained unchanged for 20 centuries[1]. The river was so named, because its sand contains particles of gold.[2] Here then we have an instance of a place (river) name after its characteristic attribute.

So far I was dealing with names of countries, towns, rivers, and hills from *Kṣatrapa* inscriptions. Village names are very few. In fact, only one is known. It is *Rasopadra-grāma*. I shall not comment on it at present, but shall take it up along with other village names from subsequent records.

The one Gupta inscription mentions no other place names, besides *Surāṣṭra*, the river *Palāśinī*, and the hills Raivataka and *Ūrjayata*.

The name Raivataka is important as it tells us that one of the two hills which now form the Girnar range was known by this name, a name which is met with in the *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇas* and Jaina literature. It is supposed to be after king Revata.

Names of Villages

Of the six place names from *Traikūṭaka* records *Aparānta* is already discussed; partly also *Antaramaṇḍalī*. *Āmraka-(grāma?)* must have been named after a mango-grove. Kaniyas-*Taḍākā-sarikā* seems to be after a small pond.

Padra

Barring the names of countries, the earliest village name we get is in a *Kṣatrapa* inscription, which mentions Raso-*padra-grāma*. It is strange that it should be necessary to add the word *grāma*, for we are told that the suffix *padra*, which is derived from√ *pad*(?), itself means

[1] The second part seems to have been replaced by a new one. The exact derivative as suggested by Dr. CHATTERJI should be a form like* *Sonasītā* or **Sonasī*.

[2] *Mirat-I-Ahmadi*, Supplement, 205, takes note of this river. It says, "Gold is deposited in its bed, but there is not enough to make its working profitable."

a village, or a place of habitation, besides a road in a village, the earth, or a name of a district.[1]

And this is not a solitary instance. The suffix *-padra* occurs together with *grāma* in all the later inscriptions—*Traikūṭaka*, *Kaṭaccūri*, Gurjjara, *Cāhamāna*, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, and *Caulukyas* of *Lāṭa*, Maitrakas of *Valabhī* and *Solaṅkis* (Caulukyas). Thus not only the suffix but the practice of appending *grāma* to *padra* is at least 2000 years old. For the term *padra* did not merely, or no longer, connote a village; it had become a part of the village name, the suffix *padra* indicating, when compounded with the name proper, a place of habitation in, around, or on a road leading to a village.

Vadra

Along with the suffix *padra*, we have to consider an almost identical suffix *-vadra*. It first occurs in two place-names from Gurjjara records, then occasionally in *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* and *Caulukya* (*Solaṅki*) records. It is remarkable that so far no instance of this suffix is found in *Valabhī* records, though there are at least 18 instances of the *padra* suffix. For it has been presumed that modern place-names in Kathiawad with the suffix *vadar* are derived from *vadra*>*vaddra*>*vaddara* (*-padra-*) *-vadra*.[2] I shall discuss this question later. For the present it is worth consideration whether the suffix *vadra* means the same as *padra*, and if so, whether they are interchangable.

Vadra in fact is no word. Either owing to the similarity of the letters *va* and *pa*, from about the 5th century onwards, or to the actual wrong engraving, *pa* came to be written as *va*. In some cases the epigraphist might have wrongly read it. But there is no doubt that in the majority of cases *padra* was written as *vadra*; or else we would not have many names in *-vadra*, particularly in Kathiawad. Hence both *padra* and *vadra* have an identical connotation. "Linguistically speaking," says Dr. KATRE, "*padra-*,written and pronounced as *-paddra-paddara*[3], *paddara* must have changed to *-vaddara-*, -p>-v-

[1] MONIER-WILLIAMS, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, (1899). 585.

[2] "*Padra* > *padda* > *vadda* + *padra*=*vadra*>*vaddara*>*vadar* doubtful, unless the form is a medieval (early NIA.) Sanskrit form". S. K. C.

[3] The spelling *vadra* would seem to be a blend of a prakrit *vadda* and the sanskrit *padra*. S.K.C.

normally in the intervocalic position."

Palli

The suffix *-pallī* or *-pallīkā* is met with for the first time in a *Traikūṭaka* record, then once in a Gurjjara, four times in the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, twelve times in Maitraka and only thrice in Caulukya (*Solaṅki*) records.

Pallī or its diminutive *pallīkā* is derived from √*pal* meaning to go, to move etc. There seems to be no reference to it in very early Sanskrit literature,[1] but later it had come to mean a very small village, a village of wandering herdsmen (*ābhīra-palḷī*); of wild tribes; den of thieves, or a house of *Cāṇḍāla*.[2] It is used in the last but one sense in the *Uttarādhyanasūtra* and other Jaina canonical texts,[3] the earliest portions of which are assigned to about 300 B.C.[4] The underlying idea in literature is thus of insignificance and unrespectability.

In the inscriptions it does not seem to have been used in this sense. In the first place, the words preceding *-pallī* show that besides *cora*, *cāṇḍāla*, and *ābhīra*, other things could also form a *pallī*. Secondly the addition of *grāma* to *pallī* implies that the place had already outgrown a small, tiny settlement, and *pallī* formed part of the name itself.

Thus the lexicographers appear to confine themselves to the early Jaina literary usage, whereas in practice the thing had undergone a change. This but illustrates the adage that law always lags behind usage.

Vali, Valli and Vallika

Just as we have to consider suffixes *-padra* and *-vadra* together, similarly after *-pallī* comes the suffix - *valī*, - *valli* or - *vallikā*. Both these occur for the first time in Gurjjara records, once as *-valī*, and the second time as *-vallikā*, and then about eleven times in the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, while so far there is not a single instance from *Valabhī* records. In Caulukya (Solanki) records, in its pure form the suffix - *valī* occurs

[1] English or European dictionaries usually cite lexicographers, which are late.

[2] BOEHTLINGK and ROTH, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, IV, 595.
MONIER-WILLIAMS, 610.

[3] *Illustrated Ardhamagadhi Dictionary* (*IAD*) III,¦ 528: *Abhidhānrājenāra*, V. 729.

[4] WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, II, 434.

only thrice, but it might be lurking in other - *li* endings such as *Dhaüli Kisaraüli* and others.

Vallī by itself does not signify a village or an abode or settlement. In one sense it means a creeping, and a class of medicinal, plant; in the other, a very restricted sense, a section of a particular Upanishad, *Kaṭha Upaniṣad.*[1] None of these meanings could be directly applicable to place-names. But it appears that the meaning of *valli* as 'earth'[2] came to be combined, purposely but very likely unconsciously, with *valli* meaning section, or 'part' and the word came to mean a section of the earth, a habitation, etc. This in course of time became part of the name itself, and so the inscriptions further affixed the word *grāma* to show its size.

Sthali

Partly similar is the suffix *-sthalī.* It is exclusively found several times in *Valabhī* records, but not once in records of the dynasties which ruled over coastal Gujarat. But I think its less pure form we can see only once in Dahithali of a Gujjrara record. It is mentioned in Caulukya (*Solaṅki*) records, and this instance comes from *Kāthiawar.* Its slightly different form once occurs in *Mūṇḍasthala,* whereas an allied suffix *-sthāna* is applied once after - *pura,* in Prasannapura-*sthāna,* and once to *Navaṁsaka.*

Sthalī has been used as the first member of a compound word where it would connote a fixed or localized thing e.g. *sthalīdevatā.* When followed by *bhū* it applied to a land which has become dry. Hence *sthalī* by itself suggests a high-lying country, an eminance, table-land, or dry land as opposed to a damp, low land.

The *Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa,* early Jaina and *Pāli* literature use the word in these senses.[3] Thus *sthalī* does not directly mean a habitation, but a place fit for habitation, being dry etc. Do the Maitraka inscriptions use it in this sense, handing us down the earlier usages, because most of Kathiawar was once, not very long ago geologically, under the sea; then gradually some parts came up and became dry, or

[1] MONIER-WILLIAMS, 929.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] MONIER-WILLIAMS, 1261-2; BOETHLINGK and ROTH, 1282; *Abhidhāna,* IV, 2386· CHILDERS, 502.

because the land is very uneven, and few places habitable, which are designated as *sthalīs*?

The *Mahābhārata* mentions both *Kuśasthala* as well as *-sthalī*. The latter is supposed to be another name of Dwarka.

There might be some geological or physiographical significance behind the use of *sthala* or *sthalī*, which is confined to Kathiawar, or it might simply mean a place, dry and elevated in its primary sense, but later meaning place only. Qualified by the name proper, *Kuśa*, *Vāmana* etc. it would denote a particular place. It remains to be investigated, if this latter interpretation is correct, viz. whether *sthalī* was affixed to personal names only, or to names of objects etc.

Hrada

Another old suffix is *-hrada*, meaning a large or deep piece of water, lake or pool.[1] The earliest reference to a place-name with this suffix is in a *Kaṭaccūri* record. Subsequent occurrences of names with these suffixes are very few, but do appear, once in a *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, twice in Maitraka and once in a Caulukya (*Solaṅki*) record. It is remarkable that one of the place-names in all the three later records is identical viz. *Kāśahraḍa*, identified with *Kāsundra*, 25 miles south of Ahmadabad.

Already in a *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* inscription instead of the suffix - *hrada* we find *Kāśa*° compounded with *-draha*. This may imply that these two suffixes mean more or less the same thing and are interchangeable.[2]

Draha

There is one instance of a place-name with *-draha* suffix in a Valabhi record and one in a Caulukya (*Solaṅki*) record. These are respectively *Vaṭa-draha* and *Go-drahaka*. In each of these cases the meaning of the suffix can be more easily ascertained by a reference to the first name or names proper. In both cases it would mean that the lake or the tree near the lake, or the reeds *kāśa* growing in the lake formed a prominent landmark, and the place was named after this.

[1] MONIER-WILLIAMS, 1307. According to Dr CHATTERJI these suffixes—*hrada*>*draha*—are very common in Bengal.

[2] Cf. *Ibid.* 501. "*draha* = *hrada*."

Sara

Equally old as *-hrada* and having a similar significance is the suffix *-sara* meaning a lake or a pond. Omitting a doubtful reference in a *Traikūṭaka* record, we have first *Jaṁbu-sara* in a Gurjjara record. Many of us are familiar with this name. It is no other than our *Jaṁbu-sar*, near Dakor in Kaira District. For nearly 1500 years the name has come down to us in an absolutely unchanged state.

This and other place-names in *-sara* regularly appear through the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, Maitraka and Caulukya times. Of course the instances are not many, the largest number so far gathered from Caulukya records is 7 and about 3 or 4 from the earlier records. As in *-hrada*, a lake and its surroundings determined the place-name.

Pataka

The suffix *-pāṭaka* first occurs only once in a Gurjjara record, then once in a *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* record, about six times in Maitraka, and therein once as *Kaṭaka* (*Amalakaṭaka*)[1] and only thrice in Caulukya (*Solaṁki*) records.

What does *pāṭaka* mean? It is said to signify "the half or any part or a kind of village, or a shore or a bank."[2] Early Jaina literature makes the sense more explicit. There *pāḍaga* signifies a habitation within a village.[3] Originally then *pāṭaka*, *pāḍaga*, *pāḍā* might have denoted a large, but private house, or settlement within a village. Gradually the village came to be called after it and sometimes the city also as the following names show: *Aṇahila-pāṭaka* or *-(vāṭaka)*, *-nagara*, *-pura*, *-Aṇahilapura*. Generally, the word or name preceding or qualifying *-pāṭaka* would be that of a person or group of people or tribe (?). If this can be ascertained, the names in *-pāṭaka* would yield valuable information on various settlements, or "colonisations".

Vataka

Analogous to the suffix *-pāṭaka* is *- vāṭaka*. Three clear instances of it occur in Maitraka records, and once as *-vāṭikā* and once as *-vaṭa*,

[1] GADRE, *Imp. Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, 20.

[2] MONIER-WILLIAMS, 614-15; BOETHLINGK and ROTH, IV, 630. *Abhidhāna*, V, 823.

but no instances of it are so far noticed in other early or contemporary records of Gujarat. In the Caulukya records, the famous *Aṇahilapura*, or *-pāṭaka* appears once as *Aṇahila-vāṭaka*.

Vāṭa, vāṭaka, vāṭi, vāṭikā all from√ *vṛt*, have always connoted in Sanskrit,[1] *Ardhamāgadhi*,[2] and *Pāli*[3] literature a temporarily enclosed place, such as a garden, plantation, or an enclosure of a (low caste) village consisting of boundary trees. The exact nature of the enclosure is suggested by the word prefixed to it. Thus we have *Kaṇṭakī, Īkṣu, Kṛṣi, Samāja, Camū, Smaśāna*, and *Prācya* as some of the prefixes.[4] Becoming a prominent feature of the land, this enclosure would gradually become the name of the village.

There is a solitary instance of a place-name ending in the analogous suffix - *vāṭikā* in a Maitraka record. It is called Pahma - (Padma) *vāṭikā*. It is proposed to be identified with *Baṅgavāḍī*.[5]

This is to be distinguished from names ending in - *vat* and - *mat* implying possession. There are only four of this kind, viz., *Candrāvatī, Darbhāvatī, Dadhimatī* and *Dvārāvātī*—all occurring in Caulukya inscriptions.

Ijya or Ijja

Another group of place-names ends in - *ijya* or - *ijja*. Excepting the one or two instances in *Kaṭaccūri*, Gurjjara, and *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* records, we get a number of definite instances of place-names with these suffixes in Maitraka and Caulukya inscriptions. By a consideration of all the names and suffixes we have to fix the shades of meaning connoted by - *ijya* and other similar forms.

From these I pass on to suffixes which are found only in Caulukya (*Solaṅki*) inscriptions but not in inscriptions of the earlier period. Why these are not found in earlier records may be explained by saying that very few records pertaining to Northern Gujarat, the region to which the Caulukya records belong, have been found. Hence we have

[1] BOETHLINGK and ROTH, VI, 901; MONIER-WILLIAMS, 939.
[2] *Abhidhāna*, VI, 1066 and see *Illustrated A. M. D.*, IV, 368, V. 534 and 832.
[3] CHILDERS, 555.
[4] BOETHLINGK and ROTH, VI, 901.
[5] According to Mr. Hariprasad SHASTRI.

no earlier place-names with these suffixes. Though this is true, the fact remains that place-names with these suffixes were confined to or predominated in Northern Gujarat.

Vasana

The first of these suffixes is-*vasaṇa*. A perfectly Sanskrit word meaning dwelling, abiding, sojourn, and when forming first part of a compound name, it means "residence in....."[1]

An early Sanskrit gloss on an earlier *Ardhamāgadhī* Jaina canonical *Sūtra* text gives the same meaning for *vasaṇa*.[2]

Though thus the meaning of the suffix is certain, none of the Sanskrit[3] or Prakrit lexicons give an example, where the word is used as a second part of the compound, in the way it is used in Caulukya inscriptions. Nor can I cite such an example from literature. With regard to inscriptions, as far as my knowledge goes, place-names with this suffix do not occur in Gupta or Gurjjara-*Pratihāra*, and *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* inscriptions. I am doubtful if it will be found in inscriptions of other dynasties and other parts of India. Of course nothing definite can be said unless all the inscriptions are examined.

Though there are only seven Caulukya inscriptional references to place-names with this suffix there is a very large number of such names in Northern Gujarat, which suggests that these formed a special feature of the place-name pattern of this part of India. And it will be interesting to find out what light they throw on the question of colonization and culture of Northern Gujarat when discussed together with the first part of the name.

Vasahika, Vasaka

Derived from the same source, viz. $\sqrt{}$ *vas* is the suffix - *vasahikā*, of which a solitary illustration is found in a *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* record. *Kārañja-vasahikā* might have meant a dwelling, or a colony in or around or under *Karanja* tree (*Pongamia Glabra*).

[1] MONIER-WILLIAMS, 932.

[2] *Abhidhāna*, VI, 934 and *Illustrated A. M. D.* V, 533.

[3] Except the one instance from the *Mahābhārata*, V. 1680 of *Araṇya*-vasana. BOETHLINGK and ROTH, VI, 839.

Bearing affinity to - *vasaṇa*, and - *vasahikā* are the suffixes - *vāsaka* and - *vāsa*. The former is found in *Mohaḍa-vāsaka*. Of the latter no epigraphical instances are so far found, but as I will show later, a number of modern place-names bear the suffix - *vāsa*.

Vada

The second exclusively Caulukyan suffix is - *vāḍā*. The word is not Sanskrit, but is derived from *vāṭa* - *vaṭṭa* - Sk. *vartta* - 'round' or *vāṭa* or *vāṭaka*, or even *pāṭaka*. The *Ardhamāgadhī vāḍā* is equated with the Sanskrit *vāṭa*, and also stands for *pāṭaka*. It seems strange that the former should have no word like *vāḍī*, or *vāḍā*[1]

All these words, however, originally meant some kind of temporary enclosure like *vāṭaka*, *vāṭa* or *vāṭika*. Nowadays this sense is conveyed by *vāḍī* only, though in cities like Bombay and Poona "*vāḍī*" has come to be associated with a built-up area either with or without an enclosure, belonging to a private citizen, as *vāḍā* has been in *Mahārāshtra* for the last 300 years or more. In Gujarat the original *Ardhamāgadhī* or Prakrit word *pāḍā* is used. Thus we have *Saṅghvipāḍā* and other *pāḍās* in Patan. Most probably this has been in use from very early times,[2] associated either with a private, but perhaps prominent villager, or other land-feature, which in course of time usurped the name of the village. That *vāṭaka* has some connection with *vāḍā* or in some parts of Gujarat, the latter was directly derived from the former, is shown by a Gurjjara place *Suṇṭhavāḍaka*,[3] which is identified with *Sunthvād*.

Thus *vāḍā* or *pāḍā*, derived from *vāṭaka* or *pāṭaka* or from both, stood for the original word itself, for a private settlement characterised either by a personal name or a prominent physiographical feature.

Vada

The suffix - *vāḍā* is different from the suffix - *vaḍa*, though the engraver of an epigraph or even a mistake in transcription might make

[1] *Abhidhānarājendra*, V, 1066. cf. *pāṭaketi samjñā prasiddhā*.

[2] In early Jaina literature the word *pāḍā* is used in the sense of a suburb of a large town. Thus *Nālandā-pāḍā* of *Rājagṛāha*.

[3] *IA*, 13.76. Of course the difference might be due to the writing or reading of the *akṣara ṭa*.

these two suffixes look similar. The latter - *vaḍa* comes from *vaṭa*, meaning a baniyan or Indian Fig tree. The earliest instance, a solitary one, is *Kumāri-vaḍao* given by an early sixth century *Kaṭaccuri* plate. Later it is found but once in a Caulukya record as *Indrāvaḍa*.

Besides these there are a few place-names ending in - *na*, - *ṇa*, or *ṇā*, in - *ḍa* or - *ḍi*, in - *yā* and - *ka*. Whereas in some cases, for instance names in - *ka*, might be diminutives it is difficult to ascertain in other cases, whether these are remnants of suffixes or form part of the word itself. All these place-names will have to be dealt with individually, along with their modern equivalents.

Pura, Puri and Nagara

We must also take note of the suffixes *pura*, *purī*, *nagara* and *paṭṭana*. The first three denote a town or a city, the last a sea or river port.

Very few instances of place-names with these suffixes are found in ancient Gujarat. The earliest is - *nagara* found in Girinagara of the *Kṣatrapa* records. *Pura* and - *purī* are found respectively in *Traikūṭaka* and *Kaṭaccūri* records and in Gurjjara and Caulukya records.

Paṭṭana occurs only four times, twice in the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, once in the Maitraka, and once in a Caulukya record.

The suffix - *durga* occurs late in the 13th century. Thus the present *Junūgaḍh* is called *Jīrṇadurga*.

Siddhi, Sadhi

Suffixes *siddhi* and *sāḍhi* occur once only, both losing the final vowel in modern *Gujarāti*. Thus Borsad in Kaira District comes from Badarasiddhi mentioned in a *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* record and *Amalsād* in Navasari District or *Prānt* from *Āmvalasāḍhi* of a Caulukya record.

Thus the following suffixes are found among Gujarat place-names:—

padra, *vadra*, *pallī*, *pallīka*, *valli*, *vallikā*, *sthalī*, *sthāna*, *draha*, *hrada*, *sara*, *pāṭaka*, *vāṭaka*, *vāṭikā*, *vāḍaka*, *ijya* or *ijja*, *vasaṇa*, *vasahikā*, *vāḍā*,and *vāḍa*, *pura*, *puri*, *nagara*, *paṭṭana*, *durga*, *siddhi*, and *sāḍhī*.

From their meanings these suffixes can be classified into the undermentioned groups:

Padra	*Pāṭaka*	Siddhi
Vadra	*Vāṭaka*	*Sāḍhi*
Pallī	*Vāḍā*	
Pallīkā	*Vāṭikā*	
Valli	Ijjya or Ijya	
Vallikā	*Vasaṇa*	
Sthalī	*Vasahikā*	
Sthāna.	Pura	
Draha	Nagara	
Hrada	*Paṭṭana*	
Sara	Durga	

The list gives us no less than 24 different suffixes of place-names current in Gujarat from 100 A.D.—1300 A.D. Among them there are not more than a couple of suffixes like - *nagara*, and - *pura* denoting cities, and instances of these are not more than five, indicating that Gujarat then as now was primarily a country of villages.

Inscriptional and Modern Place-name Suffixes

Many of the modern place-names of Gujarat have retained these ancient suffixes, of course not in their original, but only in their transformed garb, due to the transition from Sanskrit to Gujarati.

In this process of understanding the modern place-name suffixes, we start with a group of ancient place-names, having the same suffix, and compare with it the group of definitely identified modern equivalents.

Ancient names in padra		*Modern names*
	Niguṇḍipadraka	= *Nāgarvāḍā*
	Taṇḍula-padraka	= *Tāṇḍaljā.*
Gurjjara	*Śirīṣa*-padraka	
Rāṣṭrakūtā	*Vaṭa*-padra	= *Vaṭa*-paddara-ka>*Vaṭa*-paddara-ka *Vaḍa*-vaddara> *Vaḍoddarā*

	Vaḍra-padra	= *Vaḍodarā* (Baroda).
Caulukya (*Lāṭa*)[1]	Tala-padraka	= Talodra
	Vaṭapadra	= Vardala?
Ancient names in vadra		
Gurjjara	Jara-vadra	= Jolva
	Phala-vadra	= Phalod
Maitraka	*Ḍambarapadraka* in *Ānumañjisthalī*	= Not identified.
	Chhedapadraka in *Hastavaprāhāra*	= *Sedhāvadar*, 2½ miles south of Varjit, near Bhavnagar.[1]
		= *Hāthab*, near Bhavangar.
	Indrāṇipadraka	= Not identified.
	Valapadraka	= *Valāvad* (?) 2 miles from Sihor.
Caulukya	Dadhipadra	= Dahod
	Dālaüdra	= *Dālod*
	Dharavadrikā	= Dhared
	Haṁḍāüdra	= Undwadia (Undwaria).
	Lāṭhivadra	= *Lāṭodra*
	Talodrā	= Talara (Talodara).

It will be observed that during the Caulukya period three of the names do not give the suffix - *padra* or - *vadra*, but their later (?) form, which undergoing a further simplification are now preserved as Dalod, Undwadia (Undwaria) and Talara respectively.

Modern: Dara

Answerable to the above place-names in - *padra* or - *vadra*, and their later forms or variations are the following, the second part of which consists of *dara*, from the Mehsana, Baroda, Navasari, and Amreli *prānts* of the Baroda State in Gujarat and Kathiawad.[2] Though their ancient proto-types have not been found so far in epigraphs, their endings suggest that they might be ancient. Further evidence in support of this inference is afforded by the first part of the name or

[1] According to Mr. Hariprasad Shastri.

[2] As mentioned in the introduction, these have been listed on card-index system, but not published at this stage of the studies.

name-content, which unlike those of purely modern names does not begin with that of a deity—*Śiva*, *Viṣṇu*, *Rāma* or *Hanumān*.

Likewise some of the names endin gin °*ḍa* or °*āḍ* or °*oḍ*, of which there is a very large number in Mehsana *prānt* might be traced to names with the suffix - *padra* or - *vadra*. But we cannot be so certain, as these name-endings belong not to the secondary stage, but to what we may call, the third or tertiary stage.

And if Talara is really derived from Talodra, which undoubtedly comes down from Talapadra or *-vadra* then a few modern names ending in °*ra* or °*rā*, could be so derived.

Palli

Out of the ancient place-names in - *palli* the following are identified with certainty.

Kaṭaccuri:	none.	
Gurjjara:		
Rāṣṭrakūṭa:	*Brāhmaṇapalli*	= *Bāmroli* / *Brahmapallī*
	Kaḷupallikā	= Kalol (or Kallol?)
	Vāraḍapallikā	= *Bārdoli*
Maitraka:	*Antarapallikā*	= *Antroli* (?)
	Aśilāpalli	= *Aśapalli*, Asawal or *Asārvā*?
	Viśvapalli	= *Vaṅsol.*[1]
	Vaṭapallikā	= *Vāḍl'.*[1]
	Ghaṇṭāpalli	= *Ghaṅtoli*

It is really a pity that out of the several Maitraka - *pallikā* names only a few can be identified.

Place-names with *-vali* or *-valli*-endings which have been identified are as under:

Kaṭaccuri:	*None*	
Gurjjara:	Goliavali	
Rāṣṭrakūṭa:	*Dhannavallikā*	= *Dhānoli*
	Jharivallikā	= Z(jh)aroli.
	Vaḍavallī	= Valod (?)
Maitraka:	None	

[1] According to Mr. Hariprasad Shastri.

Caulukya:	*Kacchāvalī*	= Kacholi.
	Kāṁvalaïli	= Kamlol (?)

Li or Oli

The above list shows that names in *-valli* or *-vali* should give us normally names ending in *-oli*.

As similar or identical results follow from names in - *pallī*, modern names with endings in *-oli* might have either of these as proto-types. A few of such place-names are found in Mehsana *Prānt*, from which we might reconstruct their older forms.

A few of the other (modern) forms in *-li* have their proto-types in the older names with suffix - *sthalī*, found only in Maitraka inscriptions and once in a Caulukya record. But - *sthalī* was not an ordinary suffix. It denoted in many cases a territorial unit. Hence wherever it was applied on to the ordinary suffix, e.g. Kadambapadraka-*sthalī*, *Vaṭa-pallikā-sthalī*, it is possible that it would be dropped, when no longer that territorial unit existed. In cases where it formed the primary suffix, it seems to have formed a part of the name, and handed down in its shortened form. Thus we have Deyathali in a Maitraka record, which itself seems to have been derived from a form like Deva-Deha-*sthalī*, whereas the modern Amreli, chief town of the *tāluka* and *prānt* of that name in Kathiawar, might have been deirved from *Ambareṇu-sthalī*. The classical instance is however of *Vaṁthli* which is said to have its proto-type in *Vāmana-sthalī*. If this is true, and if the latter is not a later sanskritized version, (for it is not found in earlier records of Kathiawad, though occurring in the *Mahābhārata*?), then many of the modern place-names in - *thali* might be similarly derived.

We have thus two Dethalis in the Mehsana Prant : one in the Siddhapur Kasba, and the other in *Vaḍāvaṇi* Kasba. There is one more name with this suffix, viz. *Sāṁgasthalī*. Like *Delvāḍa*, Dethali seems to be a popular place-name, its popularity being due to its connection with a deity.

In the Amreli *Prānt* there are three places; two *Rājathalis*, one in Damnagar and the other in Dhari Mahal; the third is Methali.

The rest of the modern place-names in - *li* might have their arche-types as names in - *pallī*, - *valli* or - *sthalī*, or in such names as *Maṇḍali* or *Māṇḍal*, *Sākli* or *Saṁkli* (of which we have no less than five in

the Mehsana *Prānt*, one each in Mehsana, Kheralu, and *Vaḍāvani* sub-divisions and two in *Vijāpur* subdivision), which have come down to us unchanged.

Sthana

None of the few names in - *sthāna* has been identified so what the exact relation between the proto-type and its present form is cannot be ascertained. Ordinarily - *sthāna* would change to *thāna*. (Cf. *Sthāna=Thānā*; *Thān* in Kathiawar derived from *Thānaka*).

The solitary name with the - *sthala* suffix, viz. *Muṇḍasthala* is identified with Murthal. This little datum is not sufficient to trace satisfactorily the archetypes of a large number of place-names with the ending - *al* or - *ala* in the Mehsana and other parts of the Baroda State. Only two names *Saduthalī* in the *Vaḍāvani*, another of the same name in the Visnagar and Thumaihala in the Visnagar sub-division can be cited. For the rest we should look out for some other archetype suffixes.

Dra

Of the very few names in - *draha* or - *hrada* the one that is most satisfactorily identified is Godrahaka, that is Godhara in the Panch Mahal District and *Kāsandra*, from *Kāśahrada*. According to this equation, some 10 names with the ending °*dra*, or-°*dhara* might have their origin in the suffix °*draha* or °*hrada*.

Sara

There is no difficulty with regard to the modern place-names with the suffix-°*sara*. Many of them are self-explanatory. The first part is the name of a person or tree etc., the second, -*sara* meaning a lake, has remained unchanged. Very often the first part has not undergone any change. Thus the following names have for about 500—1000 years withstood all changes.

Gurjjara: *Gujarāt*	Jambusara	}
Cālukya:	Jambusara	= Jambusar (a)
	Navasārikā	= *Navsārī* or *Navasārī*.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa:	Jambusara	= Jambusar(a)
Maitraka:	Jambusara	= Jambusar(a)
	Kāsara	= *Kāsar*
Caulukya:	*Nāgasārīkā*	= *Navasārī*
	Phūlasara	= Phul(a)sar(a)
	Vaḍasara	= Vad(a)sar(a)
	Nausara	= Nausar(a).

The one exception seems to be *Bhāṁṣara* which has now become *Bhākhar*, but then the second part is *ṣara* and not *sara*.

There are about 15 place-names with the suffix - *sara* spread over the whole of the Mehsana *Prānt*, of which I would mention only *Panchāsar* which traditionally goes back to the 8th century; others might be equally old or at least of the Caulukya (*Solaṅki*) period.

Vada

Place-names with the suffix - *pāṭaka* are not many. But as we saw this is a very ancient place-name suffix, even in literature. In Gujarat epigraphy the following places with this suffix have been identified.

None before the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* period.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa:	*Ambapāṭa*(ka)	=	Amod (pur) (not *pāṭaka*, but merely - *pāṭa*).
Maitraka:	*Devakula-pāṭaka*	=	*Devalvāḍā*[1] >*Deülavāḍā*,*Delvāḍa*. or Devalia, 14 miles east of Dhral, Jamnagar State.
	Ḍāmari-paṭaka	=	?
	Lohāra-pāṭaka	=	?
	Mulavarma-*pāṭaka*	=	?
	Viśāla-pāṭaka	=	*Visaliā*(?)
	Amalakaṭaka in *Bharukacchaviṣaya*	=	Amod, or *Āmblā* 12 miles s. of *Āṁti*, in Padra *Tālukā*, Baroda *Prānt*.[1]
Caulukya:	*Aṇahila-pāṭaka*	=	*Aṇahīlvāḍ*(a) or *Anāv*(a)*ḍā*.
	Brāhmaṇā-pāṭaka	=	*Brāhmaṇavāḍā* or *Bāṁbhaṇa vāḍā*. or *Bāmanvāḍā*
	Doḍiyā-pāṭaka	=	*Doḍivāḍā*.

[1] GADRE. *Important Inscriptions, Baroda State*, 20.

Before commenting on these names, it is also necessary to consider at this stage place-names with the suffixes - *vāṭaka*, and - *vāḍā*.

As I said previously only three names with the suffix-*vāṭaka* occur in pre-Caulukya records, and all these in the Maitraka records, whereas the place-name with the suffix -*vāḍa* occurs but once.

The one name in °*vāḍa* is *Sumṭhavāḍa*.

In the Caulukya inscriptions *Aṇahilapāṭaka* is once mentioned with the suffix - *vāṭaka*, while there are 10 place-names with the suffix *vāḍā*, of which eight can be identified. They are:

Ādhivāḍā = *Ādivāḍ*(a)
Āṅgaṇavāḍā = *Āṅgaṇ*(a)*vāḍ*(a)
Coṛiyavāḍā = *Corvāḍ*(a)
Deülavāḍā = *Delvāḍā*.
Rāṇāvāḍā = *Raṇāvāḍ*(a)
Sāhilavāḍa = *Selvāḍ*(a)
Sāṁpavāḍā = *Sāṁpavāḍ*(a)
Varaṇāvāḍa = *Varṇavāḍ*(a).

The question naturally arises whether the names with the suffix - *vāḍā* are derived from the earlier forms *pāṭaka* or - *vāṭaka*. Like - *padra* or - *vadra*, these do not mean the same thing.

Two names of the Caulukya period, *Aṇahilapāṭaka* and *Doḍiyā-pāṭaka* have now the suffix -*vāḍa*(*ā*). On this analogy the eight place-names in -*vāḍā* might have their original suffixes as -*pāṭaka*. But *Aṇahilapāṭaka* has once the suffix *vāṭaka* also. Unless this be the engraver's mistake, the modern *vāḍ*(*ā*) suffix might be derived from *vāṭaka*. And this is philologically the more natural process.

In studying other modern place-names in -*vāḍā*, this twofold origin has to be kept in view.

Pada

But though *vāḍā* thus can be traced back to *pāṭaka* or *vāṭaka*, the second or the latter of which only meant an enclosure, residence, colony or stronghold, *vāḍā* in the Caulukya period and later seems always to have conveyed this idea. Northern Gujarat has now some 40 place-names with this suffix, whereas Southern Gujarat, viz., *Navasāri Prānt* has *pāḍā*; so also, as my pupil Dr. Naik informs me, village names in *pāḍā* abound in that part of the Deccan which borders Gujarat, while

these become less and less southwards and eastwards. But this *pāḍā* or *pāḍe* cannot be derived from the Sk. *Padra*, as has been done by the late Mr. RAJWADE, and Editors of the *Mahārāṣṭra Śabdakoṣa*.

Vadi

Just as we had one or two epigraphical references to names in *vāṭikā*, even now there are not more than similar number of place-names in Northern Gujarat. *Vāṭikā* becomes *vāḍī*, and this suffix we have in one place-name, *Mātarvāḍī*,[1] in the *Pātan* sub-division.

Likewise there are only 45 place-names with the suffix *vaḍ(a)* in the Mehsana *Prānt*, a number which seems to be in proportion with that obtained from inscriptions. What is important to note is that the suffix has not undergone a change as in *Indrāvaḍa* of the Caulukyan period, which is now called *Indrād*. This latter however suggests that some of the modern place-names in *-ḍ(a)* might have their original suffixes *-vaṭa* or *-vaḍa*.

Jja, Jya or Iyya

Names with an ending in *- jja* or *- jya* or *iyya* which have been identified are as follows:

Kaṭaccuri:	Gorajja	=	Goraj.
Gurjjara:	*Bherajjikā*		
	Kemajju(?)	=	Kimoj.
Rāṣṭrakūṭa:	*Kārpāṭavāṇijya*	=	*Kapaḍvanj* (*vāṇij-ya* indicates suffix-ya, not-ij-ya-).
Maitraka:	*Anumāṇji*(?)		
	Baṇḍarijidri	=	Barejadi, 7 miles north of Mehmadabad.[2]
	Desurakṣitijja	=	*Ḍesor*, 8 miles southeast of Thasara.[2]
	Kakkijja		
	Karkijja		

[1] Is it possible that some of the names in *di*, such as Limbadi, *Fāladi* are derived thus from Limba or Nimba-*vāṭi* or *Pālavāṭi*?

[2] According to Mr. Hariprasad SHASTRI.

Kāṇḍhajja (*Surāṣṭra*)=Kundhej, 10 miles south-east of *Dhānk.*
Moranjijja (*Surāṣṭra*) = Morai, 7 miles west of *Māliyā.*
Sīhamuhijja = Sihuj, 7 miles east of Mehmadabad.
Sivatrātaijja
Caulukya: *Avayānijya*
Cuyāṁitija
Dāsavaja = *Dāsaj.*
Heṭhaüṁji = *Hetaṁji*
Lāṅgaṇaijya = *Lāṅghnaj* (Langhnej).
Sūravaja = *Sūraj.*
Vālaïja = *Bālej*
Vilahuja

Identification of these place-names, though few, from inscriptions belonging to parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar, spreading over eight hundred years, shows how names with - *ijya*, or - *ijja* suffixes have survived with modified endings.

Five of the Caulukya names have been definitely identified, a number though small, is enough to tell us that of the other 30 or 35 names spread all over the Mehsana *Prānt* they are most probably not only old, but had their suffixes in -*ijya* or -*ijja.*

Vasana

Similar is the case with place-names having the suffix - *vasaṇa.* Of the eight, five are identified. They are

Caṇḍāvasaṇa = *Chaḍāsan* (a) [1]
Theḍha-vasaṇa = *Ḍheḍāsan* (a)
Kūlāvasaṇa = *Jhulāsan* (a) (?)
Luṇḍāvasaṇa = *Luṇāsaṇ* (a) ? Kadi.
Naṇḍāvasaṇa = *Nandāsan* (a)
Riṇasīhavasaṇa = *Raṇasāṇ* (a)
Sahajavasaṇa

[1] Ordinarily OIA -*n*- NIA -*ṇ*-. In these names also we expect -*ṇ*-, and in some (most) cases the ending is -*ṇa*- or *ṇā*. But whether it is so in all cases can only be determined by a visit to the places. Maps and Directories are unreliable.

This leaves little doubt as to the identity of the suffix or ending - *sana*, in a very large number—over 100, perhaps the largest number in the whole of Northern Gujarat—of place-names. In some cases even the complete suffix *vasaṇa* is still retained. Thus:

Bhāṭavāsaṇā
Bhūtiyavāsaṇā
Galolivāsaṇā
Gulavāsaṇā.
Hilolvāsaṇā
Jetalavāsaṇā.
Kākavāsaṇā.

The few epigraphical references would show that the suffix - *vasaṇa* denotes an abode, a habitation, or a colony, either of a person or group of persons. This interpretation is confirmed by the names now existing, showing also that it was applied to the habitation of spirits and others.

Pura, Puri, Nagara

Now remain the suffixes *pura*, *purī* and *nagara*, each denoting a city or town. There are very few references to such large places in inscriptions. India is a land of villages. It is not an empty political slogan, based on present economic factors, but a truth also demonstrated by place-name studies. From the earliest historical times we have the following.

	Nagara	*Pura*	*Purī*
Kṣatrapa:	Girinagara		
Traikūṭaka:		*Kapūra?*	
Kaṭaccūri:		*Ānandapura*	
Gurjjara:	Girinagara	*Daśapura*	*Nāndipurī* (*Nāṅdod*)
Guj. *Cālukya*:		Vijayapura	*Vijaya-Anirudhapurī*
Rāṣṭrakūṭa:		*Harṣapura*	
		Helāpura	
		Kaṭipura	
		Karmāntapura	
		Sāṁbapura	
	Vaṭanagara.		
Paramāra:		*Ānandapura*	

	Nagara	*Pura*	*Puri*
Maitraka:	*Vaṭanagara*	*Ānandapura.*	
	Girinagara	*Ānartapura*	
		Brahmapura	
		Danturapura = *Daṇtardi*, (?) 6 miles south of *Maṇḍal*	
		Daśapura	
		Kauṇḍinyapura (Kodinar?)	
		Siṁhapura (Sihor)	
		Śivabhāgapura	
		Suryapura.	
Gurjjara-*Pratihāra*:		Jayapura	
Caulukya:	*Aṇahilapāṭakanagara*	*Aṇahilapāṭapura* = *Aṇahila*? *Anāvāḍā* or merely *Pāṭaṇ*	
	Ānandanagara	*Ānandapura*	
	Bhāüttapadranagara		Brahmapuri (*grāma*) (Bhampori).
	Devanagara	*Araṭhaura* = Aithor	
	Dhaṇāra (Dhananagara?)		
		Dhanorā-(*grāma*)	
		Dhanapura.	
		Hāṁsalpaura (*Hāṁsalpur* (a))	
		Līlāpura (*Līlāpura*)	
	Nagara (*Vaḍnagar*)		
		Maṅgalapura (*Māṅgrol*)	
	Vṛddhinagara	*Naḍḍulapura* = *Naḍḍula*? (*Nāḍol*)	
		Pālhanapura (*Pālanpur*)	
		Ratanapura (Ratanpur)	

Rupāpura
(*Rupāpur*)
Salakhaṇapura
(*Saṅkhalpur*)
Satyapura
(*Sāṅchor*)
Siṁhapura (Sihor)
Udayapura
{ Udaypur or
{ Udai (or e) pur?
Vāmanapura
Varddhamānapura
(Wadhwan).

The above list shows at a glance that among *nagara*, *pura* and *purī*, *pura* was the most common. And this is confirmed by an analysis of modern place-name suffixes. How are we to distinguish these modern place-names from those of the 12th century or of the earlier period?

Two tests are available. The first test is that many of the early names with *pura* suffix have in the course of centuries been changed to some such ending as - *or* (-rol), the first part itself undergoing certain changes as *Maṅgal* = *Māṅg*, *Siṁha* = *Sīha*; *Pālhaṇa* = *Pālan*, *Salakhaṇa* = *Saṅkhal*.

A few names have come down almost unchanged, while in some the ending *nagara* or *pura* is dropped. To distinguish these from the modern place-names we have to examine the name content or first part of the name. Most of the modern place-names have either the suffix *pura* or *purā*,[1] though invariably these are small villages or hamlets. Secondly the first part of the name is either of a Hindu deity such as *Raṇachoḍ*, *Rāma*, *Keśava*, *Hanumān*, or a Muslim name. As Muslims effectively penetrated Gujarat after the 13th century and as no early place-name has any of these deities as first part of its name, the conclusion is irresistible that all these names are at least post-

[1] It is the result of Muslim contact, as *Purā* originally, as the author of *Mirāt-e-Ahmadi*, Supplement, says, was a suburb, or a place colonised by a Muslim king or his officer.

14th century, if not later. A further study of these names will show how among them, certain names came first, and others later; what names are related with different political rulers and their ministers and nobles and what names are related to the rise of the cult and sects of *Rāma*, *Hanumān* and *Bāla-Kṛṣṇa* or Gokula-*Kṛṣṇa*.

These place-names do not form however the bulk of the place-names in Gujarat, but a small percentage. Having fixed their rise we can safely leave them out of consideration.

The modern place-names which require a consideration are those which end in - *or*, - *ol* or those whose name contents show them to be old. But after the post-14th century names are weeded out, the number of such names is very small, which is not surprising as really big cities were few and far between then as now.

Ancient names in - *nagara* were still fewer. Even now they are few, but if the number appears slightly larger, it is due to the fact that most of them are of recent origin, e.g. Jamnagar, Navanagar, Bhavnagar, Damnagar.[1] In really old names *nagara* has changed into - *nār* or - *ner*.

Patan

Names with the suffix - *paṭṭana* seem to have changed to - *pāṭan* as *Somanātha* - or Devapura - *paṭṭana* = *Somnāthpāṭan*. But it is curious how *Aṇahilapura* is now called *Pāṭan* or *Paṭṭan*, for not once in epigraphs it has the suffix *paṭṭana*. It must have had a flourishing trade, but that is not an adequate reason.

Durga

There is only one name, that too of the late 13th century which has *durga* as a suffix. This is *Jīrṇa*-durga or our famous *Junāgaḍh*(a). Though a solitary instance it explains the fashion then set in, after which a few other names in *gaḍh*(a) can be interpreted. As their first part reveals, even these are post-14th century or later. There now remain a few old place-names where the original suffix, if any,

[1] Not to speak of a house called *Sikkānagar* in Bombay! But even this satisfies the population test, as the number it holds would exceed that of a village, so the *nagara* suffix is not wrong.

cannot be easily discerned. These are mentioned here, along with some of their well-identified or probable modern equivalents. In grouping them I have merely noted the similarity in endings, irrespective of the meaning contained in each name.

Ka or Ke

The largest of this group has the pleonastic - *ke* or - *ka* ending. This is dropped in many of the modern forms. Thus:

Aṅkoṭṭaka	=	*Aṅkot*
Antikā	=	Anti
Bharthāraṇaka	=	*Bharthānā*
Bhadrāṇaka	=	*Bharāṇā*
Bhadrāraka	=	*Bhadrāra*
Bhadreṇikā	=	Bhadrad (?)
Barataka	=	Barda Hill (?)
Coruṇḍaka	=	Chorund
Godrahaka	=	*Godhrā*
Kāpikā	=	*Kāvī*
Koṇaka	=	*Kunā*
Kalahāṭaka	=	*Koliyāk*
Kukkuṭa	=	*Kūkād*
Maṅkanikā	=	*Māṅkni*
Mottaka	=	*Motā*
Nāgasārikā	=	*Navsārī*
Paṭanaka	=	*Paḍan*
Sajjodaka	=	*Sajoḍ*
Ṭiṁbānaka	=	*Ṭimānā*

In the remaining instances *-ka* may be forming part of the name proper, as in *Sūnaka*; *Saṅki*, *Muṇḍaka*; while in one or two instances the intermediate letter (or letters) are dropped, and the diminutive has become part of the word (cf. Sihaka=Sika).

Whatever be the cause, whether the diminutive originally formed part of the word or it was added on by the composer of the epigraph, or whether it disappeared in course of time as being superfluous, the fact is that now there are very few words with the ending *ka* in Mehasana *Prānt*.

The second largest number is of names in *ī*, further sub-divided by the preceding consonant into the following groups: *-khi*, *-ḍi*, *ti*, *ṇi*, *bhi*, *ri*, *li*. Each sub-group contains but a few names, which as the modern equivalents show have retained the original form almost unchanged, but in one case the final *ī* is dropped. (cf. Trihati= Tret).

Some of these forms in *ī* (modern Guj. *-ī -ikā* etc.) might be diminutives. (cf. *Maṇḍala* and *Maṇḍalī*,) but this is not easy to detect. Even now many dimunitives are formed by adding *ī* or *ḍi*.

Whatever it be even now there are a few place-names in *Mehsāna Prānt* ending in *-ḍi*, *ṭi*, *ni*, *ri*, *li* etc. of which the largest group is formed by names in *ḍi* (*Lāchaḍi* -) etc.

The third largest group is names in - *ḍa*. In most cases it is retained in the modern equivalents.

Next come groups consisting of 2 or 3 or 5 names. Such are those ending in *chcha*, *dha*, *gha*, *sā*, *bā*, *vā*, *yā*, *la*, *an*, *ra*, *er*, *ar*. Small as these groups are, the corresponding groups of modern place-names, excepting those in *vā*, *yā* and *la*, are also small.

Some of the names in - *vā*, as the identifications show, might have been derived from *kūpa* or *vāpī* meaning a well.

A study and comparison of the suffixes of all the pre-13th century Gujarat place-names and the modern (particularly within the Baroda State) has shown that almost 90 per cent of the latter names have their roots in the past. That is particularly true of the present place-name pattern in the Mehsana *Prānt* of the Baroda State. But as we go southwards towards Central and Southern Gujarat, the pattern changes, the change becoming self-evident in the Navsari *Prānt*. I will briefly indicate the characteristics of these sub-Gujarat place-name patterns and the causes of the differentiation; further that in certain areas certain old suffixes or their present forms predominate, a finding which should make us think and try to account for it.

Modern Place-Names in Baroda Prant

An analysis of the present place-name suffixes in the Baroda *Prānt* shows the existence of the following place-name endings. In the order in which we have discussed the old and their corresponding modern suffixes, first come:—

I. Names in - *dara*, or (*ā*), most probably derived from *padra* or *vadra* ~ *ḍa*.

II. There are about 40 of these and found unevenly spread over the *Bhādarva*, Baroda, Dabhoi, Karjan, *Pādarā*, *Peṭlāḍ* (a), *Sāvli*, *Sivara*, *Sāvli*, *Sankhedā*, and Vaghodia *Mahāls* or *Tālukās* of the *Prānt*. *Pādarā* and *Sankhedā Tālukās* have the largest numbers.

III. Names in - *ḍa*, or - *ād* or - *oḍ* are very few, much fewer than those in Mehsana *Prānt*. These also might be from *padra* or *vadra*.

IV. Names in *-li* or *-oli* or *-ali*, derived from *pallī* or *valli*, are also about equal in number and found practically in all the *Mahāls*.

V. Names in *-li* descended from *sthalī* seem to be very few.

VI. There is a large number of names in *-ola*, *-ala*, *-ela*, but it is difficult to say how many of these are from names in *sthala*.

VII. Names in *-dhara*, as well as a few in *-dara*, both most probably derived from *draha* or *hrada* are very few. But instead there are names in *-kuā*, *kuī*, *sara*, and *sari*, and in *-avā*, all of which except the last are denotative of the source of water supply in the region. Further plotting of these suffixes would reveal the special peculiarity of each *mahāl* or group of *mahāls*, forming really one physiographic unit.

VIII. There are about 18 names in *vāḍā*, 7 in *vāḍī* and one in *pāḍā*, the first derived from *vāṭaka*, second from *vāṭikā*, and the last from *pāṭaka*.

IX. Names in - *ja*, *-aja*(*ā*), *-oja*, - *eja* are altogether 23 in number. The archetype of all these are difficult to trace, but those ending in *-eja* should most probably be from *-ijya*, as Langhnaj from *Lāṅgaṇaijya*. So *Dhaṁteja*, *Sarṇaeja*, *Pāṇejā* might be derived.

X. Not more than 5 names end in either *saṇa* (or *ā*). One of them actually has the ending *-vāsaṇā*. There are about 20 names in - *āṇā*. Some of these like Dethana, and *Bharathanā* might have the original ending *sthāna*. In some it might be forming part of the word itself.

By far the largest number of place-names, and perhaps larger than all other groups combined, are the names in *pura*, *purā*, *paru*, *purī*, and *nagara*.

Among these, places in *-nagara* are only three of which *Dāmnagara*, and probably *Rājnagar* are definitely modern. Of the names in *-pura* etc., those which end in *-purā* and those which have for their first part names like *Gaṇapaí*, *Hanumān* etc. are definitely post-13th century and even much later. Their large number however shows the modernity of a number of place-names or their conversion during the Muslim and Maratha periods. Some are definitely converts, and bear the old as well the new names.

Another peculiarity of the place-names of this division in Central Gujarat is that there are about 10 names half of which end in *-ṣvara*, and half in *mātā*, showing that they are after *Śiva* or *Gaṇeśa* and some local goddess.

Then there are names, about 20, which end in *-e*. None, or hardly one with such ending was found in Northern Gujarat. Their existence in Baroda *Prānt* is to be attributed to the recent Maratha domination, or the increasing *Marāṭhī* influence as we go southwards.

There is a fairly large number of place-names after trees, found principally in Sinora, *Saṅkheḍā* and *Tilakvāḍā Mahāls* which are comparatively more wooded than the rest of the *Mahāls* in this *Prānt*, or in the north.

Modern Place-Names in Navsari Prant

Like the Baroda and Mehsana *Prānts*, Navsari *Prānt* has about 30 names ending in *- ra*. Only some of them like *Saḍodarā*, *Raṇodarā*, *Talodarā*, can be definitely declared to be old, and derived from names ending in *padra* or *vadra*.

Others, like *Vyārā*, *Alurā* might have other affinities with or might belong to the tertiary stage of their formation. There are a few names in *- aḍa*, *oḍa*, but we cannot say for certain whether they are derived from *padra* or *vadra*. Names like *Pinasāda*, like Borsad, might be from the ending *- siddhi*.

There are over 50 names in *- li*, *- ela*, *- ola*, *- māla*, *- vela*, *- ala*. Whereas Maroli, Amroli, Charoli, have come down from *pallī* or *valli*; Dethali from *- sthalī*; other endings *- māla* etc. seem to be new. In *Pipalā* and the like *- la* forms part of the word itself.

Names having endings derived from *- draha* or *- hrada* are few, but there are several, more than in Mehsana and Baroda divisions, with the

endings, - *sara*, - *sari*, *kuvā*, *kuī*, *vāv*, and even *vihira*. The last is undoubtedly a *Marāṭhī* name for a well.

Perhaps individually forming the largest number are the names in *pāḍā* and *vāḍā*, each group having about 25 names each. From their names proper many of these appear to be old names. What is surprising is that further south, as we enter the Konkan proper, my colleague Mrs. KARVE tells me that similar large number of place-names ending in *pāḍā* are met with, but as observed before, the number of names in *pāḍā* decreases, as we go eastwards and southwards, no names being met with in *Karṇāṭaka*. It remains to be ascertained whether the change from *pāṭaka* to *pāḍā* or *pāḍe* is due to the influence of the *Gujarātī* language and culture.

So far very few names ending in *-jā* (*Velanjā*), one of them is *Kāmrej* which occurs in inscriptions as *Kammaṇijja*, and three in *-sāṇa* are found. One of the latter, *Kāsīmasāṇa*, if the first part *Kāsim* is really a Muslim name, *Qāsim*, it must be of a recent origin, showing however that ending *-vasana*, - *sāṇa* was applied to new names as well.

Names in *-pura*, *purā*, *-por(a)*, are less than in the Baroda *Prānt*. The ending - *por(a)* seems to be peculiar to the western coast of Southern Gujarat.

Besides these names, having endings most probably derived from older suffixes or endings there is a large number of names, which have endings like *devī*, *dari*, *turi*, *ḍuṅgarī*, *gaḍh*, *-ī*, many of which seem to be peculiar to the *Navsāri* division, and particularly characteristic of its wooded and hilly parts. This reason also seems to account for a number of place-names after trees, specially, *āṁbā*, the mango-tree, having prefixes like *Vādhāṁbā*, *Ḍhoṁgiāṁbā*, *Rāṇiāṁbā*, *Kālāṁbā*.

The above analysis of place-name endings[1] from the Northern, Central, and Southern Gujarat, though from limited evidence, as evidence from British Districts and other Indian States has not yet been available, shows, even as a sample, how the modern place-names in Northern Gujarat have much greater affinity, and in very large proportion, with place-names from Caulukya inscriptions; how even the rest of Gujarat has over 50 per cent of names, whose endings go back to antiquity. No doubt there are differences between all these parts.

[1] See the specially preparad coloured map showing the place-name pattern.

But these are due primarily to the varying physiography in the three regions, and even in sub-parts of each region; secondly to the different political and cultural influences. If Southern Gujarat has many place-names indicative of its varied drainage systems, its hilly and forest areas, certain name-endings can be accounted for by its closer physical and cultural contact with the *Koṅkan* and *Mahārāshtra*. Further detailed studies will reveal the exact place-name pattern of Gujarat as a whole and the relation between its various sub-divisions.

Modern Place-Names from Kathiawad

The evidence from Kathiwad is much more limited in extent. It relates only to the Baroda State's scattered possessions, all grouped under what is known as the Amreli *Prānt*. However this small sample datum is fairly significant and suggestive of what may be the general place-name pattern in Kathiawad and its relation to the pattern revealed by inscriptions.

As I have said previously in these series Kathiawad has a number of place-names with the ending - *vadara*, which is but derived from *-vadra*. A few of these are found in the Amreli *Prānt*.

There are also a few names in - *darā* which might be from *padra*, really <*-padra-*+- *ḍa* while the exact origin of a number of places in *-ḍā*, - *ḍa* and *-ḍi* remains doubtful.

Places in *sthalī* > - *li*, - *ala*, - *ela*, - *ola* are there, but what is remarkable is the number of names in - *thali*. These all must be related with the - *sthalī* endings of place-names in Maitraka plates.

Names ending in *dharā* and *dhari* cannot be derived from - *draha* or *hrada*. Their proto-type as yet remains unknown.

Names ending with - *sara* have, most of them, to be connected with *sara*. There are a couple of names in - *jh*(*z*)*ara* also.

The *Prānt* has no names in *pāḍā*, but has a few names in *vāḍā* (*Ḍhe-ḍavāḍā*), which might be from *pāṭaka* or *vāṭaka*; there is a *vāḍa*, which should be from *vāṭikā*, and one name in *vaḍa*.

As in other *Prānts* in Gujarat, almost 50 per cent of the names have the endings - *pura* or - *purā* and a few - *nagara*. Most of these are late, as the first part of their name suggests.

So far only one name is found in - *vasana*, but about seven in *gaḍh*, and one in *koṭa*, and a couple or so in *ḍuṅgarī*. The latter three have

undoubtedly much to do with the hilly nature of the country, and small principalities, governed by semi-independent rulers, called *Darbārs*, or *Ṭhākors*.

This brief sketch of the endings of modern place-names, even from a part of Kathiawad, shows that its place-name pattern, while generally similar to that noticed in other parts of Gujarat, has its specialities too. These are exhibited in endings as *vadara*, - *thali*, - *gaḍh* and - *koṭ*, and having no names ending in *pāḍā*.

Classification of Names

Classification of names according to their name contents is indeed difficult. The meanings which the dictionaries—Sanskrit and *Prākrit* —suggest have also their limitations. Very often a name has more than one meaning. What its exact connotation is can probably be understood only by a personal visit to the place. For example *Muṇḍa*-sthala, may be after the old non-Aryan tribe of the *Muṇḍās* or Kols which inhabited this area or it may be after *S'iva*, as *Muṇḍa* is one of the names of this god. But this meaning can be verified and proved correct, if there are even ruins of the temple etc. of *S'iva*, who was called so.

The limitations referred to are that the dictionaries may not be giving really ancient usages, or usages as old as the inscriptional name itself. They at times record the meanings given by later works.

So the interpretations suggested here are to be understood as provisional, and not final. They need further corroboration from other sources, but particularly from a first hand knowledge of the place itself.

Names of Deities

There are about 30 names after deities which I have been able to collect after interpretation. Of these five are of a general nature, having the name *Deüli*, *Devāü* or Deva, to which *grāma*, *vāḍā* and *nagara* are added.

Two names seem to be after Indra, and two after *Varuṇa*, provided that in each case Indra and *Varuṇa* were not ordinary personal names, or *Varṇa* or *Varuṇa*, does not stand for something else.

Of the four names of *Viṣṇu*, there is no doubt about three, which have *S'eṣadevati*, *Vāmana*, and Satyapura for their first part.

II

Map Showing The Distribution Of Characteristic Suffixes or Endings of Place-names Comprised Within The Territory Of H.H. The Gaekwad of Baroda In Gujarat and Kathiawad

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

SUFFIX ANCIENT = MODERN	SYMBOL EXAMPLE	DENSITY IN
PADRA OR VADRA = OD, DRA, DARA, VADARA	△ NĀNDOD, ○ VAḌODARĀ	N. GUJARAT DEHAGAMMAHAL
	□ LĀLĀVADARA	
STHALI = THALI	△ LIṄGTHALĪ, VANTHALĪ	S GUJARAT (WEST)
PALLI OR VALLI = OLI, VEL, OL	⊙ BARḌOLĪ, ⊡ KURANJVEL	
PATAKA OR VĀTAKA = PĀḌĀ, VAḌĀ	⊘ MĀṄGROL, KALOL – C GUJ KHEḌA DIST, ⊠ THORPĀḌĀ	S E GUJARAT
VASANA = SANĀ-NA	● RĀNĀVĀḌA	N GUJARAT
IJJAYA = AJ-EJ	▲ NANDĀSAN – N GUJ MEHSANA-PATAN MAHALS	
DRAHA	■ LĀṄGHNAJ, PALEJ – S OF N GUJ & N OF C GUJ	
SARA	⊕ GODHRA	
TALĀV	△ JAMBUSAR	

SUFFIX ANCIENT = MODERN	SYMBOL EXAMPLE	DENSITY IN
VAV	◑	
KUVĀ, KUI	± PIPALKUVĀ, ◪ VĀṆSKUĪ	S GUJARAT (EAST)
VIHIRA		
PURA, PURĀ	⊠ + VIJĀPUR	
NAGARA	# BHĀVNAGAR, VAḌNAGAR	
GAḌH	? JUNĀGAḌH, SONGAḌH	
PIPAL, ĀṂBĀ & SUCH SUFFIXES	★	S. GUJARAT

RANĀVĀḌA
R. SARASWATĪ
PĀTAN
SIḌHPUR
VAḌNAGAR
MEHSĀNĀ
VIJAPUR
LĀṄGHNAJ
NANDĀSAN ?
KALOL
AHMEḌĀBAD
GODHRA
NADIAD
R. SĀBARMATĪ
CAMBAY
VAḌODARĀ
R. MAHI
R. DHADHAR
SAṄKHEḌĀ
LIṄGTHALI
NĀṆDOD
DWARKA
JETPUR
SIHOR
#ANAGAR ?
BHĀVNAGAR
BROACH
R. NARMAḌĀ
? JUNĀGAḌH
LĀLĀVAḌ
AMARKUI
KEVAḌI
R. KIM
R. SINA
PIPALKUVĀ
R. TĀPI
SURAT
BĀRḌOLĪ
RĀṆIAṂBĀ
R. PURNA
NAVSARI
KURANJVEL
ḌĀṄGAGHARA
KEVḌI
HARPĀḌĀ
KODINAR

ARABIAN SEA

SK Zainuddin

Mālakatarai may be after *māla*, which is given as a name of *Viṣṇu*.[1]

Viṣṇu's i.e. *Kṛṣṇa's* brother *Balarāma* stands perhaps for *Tāladhvaja*, modern *Talājā*. According to the *Mahābhārata* tradition this would be a very ancient place. Whether it is so or not, can be proved by a field survey. The caves at *Talājā* and its vicinity are at least 1500 years old.

About 9 places seem to be so named after *Śiva's* respective names. Of these there is no doubt about *Someśvara-[illegible]*, *Śivaliyā-grāma*, *Ghaṇṭā-palli*, *Staṁbha-tīrtha*. The last is noticed [illegible] famous centre of *Liṅga* worship in the *Kaumārikā-khaṇḍa* of the Skanda *Purāṇa*. Whether it is a later interpolation I cannot say but epigraphically we have no earlier references than the 11th-12th century.

Ghūsaḍī[2] is the original or pre-12th century name of *Vīramgām* (a). I believe here was a temple of *Śiva*, wh[illegible]h *Vīrama*, a son of *Vīradhavala*, rebuilt, and named after him '*Vīrameśva[illegible]*'. The site now perpetuates the memory of both the enshriner and the enshrined. If the temple were rebuilt, as I suppose it was, then its examination migh[illegible] reveal the pre-Caulukyan architectural forms.

Nothing can be said confidently about *Kālhri*, *Kuśaloḍa* and *Muṇḍa-sthala* without a field survey.

Of the two names in *Sūrya*, one *Sūrayaja* is self-explanatory. It is left to be inquired whether it has a temple of *Sūrya*. More interesting is the explanation about *Moḍhera* or *Muḍhera*. If it is from *Muṇḍāra*,[3] which is supposed to be the name of a place where the Sun is worshipped then two explanations are possible. The first is that the dictionary reference itself is late, probably after *Muḍhera* or *Moḍhera*, which had a 11th century temple of *Sūrya*. Or that the place had a shrine of *Sūrya* before this date, and was called by the name *Muṇ[illegible]ra*. Subsequently the temple was rebuilt, but the place continued to be known after its earlier, but slightly modified name. How the place came to have the shrine of *Sūrya*, whether it had anything to do [illegible]h *Brāhmaṇas*,

[1] This is not however likely as *Māl* is a Tamil name and it [illegible]een proved to be pan-Dravidian. S. K. C.

[2] What does *Ghūsaḍī* mean? What language is it? I think in [illegible] there is a *deśī* word *ghusuri* meaning 'pig'. Are these connected? S. K. C.

[3] *Muṇḍāra* > *Moḍherā*, not likely. S. K. C.

who are known after the place as "*Moḍherā*" lead us into further fields of investigation.

Only two places, *Śrīsthala* and *Indilā* (*Indirā*), have so far been known to be named after goddesses; in this case after *Lakṣmī* (?) About *Indilā* I am not sure. Another place is Vahichara, the modern *Behcharāji* or *Bahucharā*. Inscriptions give no hint as to the place being a pilgrimage place, though it is mentioned twice. Now, however, it is an important place, having three temples, all after a goddess, with two grand feast days, when people from far and near gather together at the place.

Of the three temples, the smallest is said to be the earliest, supposed to have been built in *Saṁvat* 1208 (A.D. 1152) by Sankal *Rāj*, after whom the neighbouring village is named. The remaining two temples were built in the Maratha period.

The goddess, from the description given in the *Baroda Gazetteer*, seems to be a type of mother goddess.

According to a tradition cited by FORBES the place was called after a *Chāran* woman *Bahucharā*.[1]

The Caulukya inscriptions, however, give no clue about the place's origin, antiquity or sacredness, whereas it is probable that the place, situated in a wild forest-like region, got its name from some aboriginal people, and the temple of the goddess, even if there before, became popular in the post-Caulukya period.

Personal Names

Very few comments are necessary on names after ordinary men and women. Four names are after words derived from √*raj*. Two of these *rāṇa*° are in their Prakrit form.

The rest, about 16, are after individuals. Of these *Aṇahilla*, *Āśā*, are traditionally common people. Dhavala, (from *Vīradhavala*?) *Hāṁsala*, *Īlā*, *Salakhaṇa* and perhaps *Rūpā* belonged to a royal family, mostly of the Caulukyas themselves.

Sīhaka might be after *Sīyaka* himself,[2] the *Paramāra* king of Malwa and eastern part of Central and North Gujarat in the 10th century. So also *Bhojuyā*.

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, 609 12.

[2] Strictly speaking it would be *Sīhaka* > *Siṁhaka*. S. K. C.

Who were Nanda(*ā*) and Sahaja, and Prasanna?

Sūnaka has remained unchanged for these 1000 years and more.[1] How much older is it? Has it anything to do with the *Ṛṣī* of that name and other people mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vāyu Purāṇa*?

Varuṇaśarmmakīyapadra, the present *Vaḍsamā*, may be, as suggested before, after the shrine of *Varuṇa*, or a *Brāhmaṇa* of that name, as the ending *śarmma* indicates.

Similar may be the case with *Candrāvatī* and *-pallī* where Candra may be a personal name, or after Candra, the moon-god.

Over 12 names seem to be after tribes or peoples. Among these the most important is the one after which the country came to be called, first *Gūrjara*, and then Gujarat.[2]

Has the word *Dāsayaja* anything to do with the *Dāsas* or Dasyus, who according to one interpretation of some *Ṛgvedic* passages lived in and around Mt. Abu? *Ḍoḍiyāpāṭaka*, the present *Ḍoḍivāḍā* near Behcharaji, might be either after a *Brāhmaṇa*, if the word was originally *Ḍoḍa*; or a lower class of men, as *doḍḍa*, a *Deśī* word signifies. *Ḍoḍa* is also a name of a family. In any case the word will mean the *pāṭaka*, quarter, inhabited by *Ḍoḍas*.

If *Haṁḍā* in *Haṁḍāüdra* is the same as *haṅḍā*, a low class female, it would mean a village consisting (largely) of such people.

Kirātakūpa, the inscriptional word for modern *Kirāḍu*, would suggest a well of *Kirātas*, hunters,[3] a degraded tribe, or a place where *Śiva* was worshipped as *Kirāta*. In the latter case, there should be an old temple of *Śiva* or its ruins at *Kirāḍu*.

The places *Mahiṁṣaka* and *Mahisāṇā* recall the *Māhiṣmakas*, people mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, *Aśvamedha*, (LXXXIII. 2435-37), *Māhiṣikas* (*Matsya*, CXIII. 47), *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.

[1] But OIA -k- would be become zero in NIA. S. K. C.

[2] I have shown elsewhere (*JGRS*, 1946) in great detail that some of the early rulers and a part of the population of Rajputana and N. Gujarat belonged to *Śaka*, *Hūṇa*, Gurjjara and other peoples of Central Asia. So the country came to be called after them "*Gurjartrā*", *Gurjaratrā-bhūmi*; then after the 10th-11th century most of the present Gujarat came to be known as Gurjara-*maṇḍala*.

[3] It is doubtful if this has relation to the *Kirātas* mentioned in the *MBH*. II, 48. 8 etc. MOTICHANDRA has pointed out (*JUPHS*, XVII, i, 40) that these were Tibeto-Burman people living in Eastern India.

There is also a *Mahiṣaka* mentioned in a *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* inscription which I would identify with a place in the Kaira District. Were all these place-names connected with the people referred to in the *Mahābhārata* they should be of great antiquity, and would lend support to MUNSHI'S theory, according to which the founders of *Māhiṣmatī* were the Haihayas, an earlier or shall we say an outer band of *Āryans*, that had settled in Gujarat long prior to the inner band which came later.

Muṇḍa-sthala, if not after *Muṇḍa*, which is supposed to be a name of *Śiva*, may be after the people of this name, who, according to the researches of SCHMIDT and others and accepted by GRIERSON, belonged to what is called Austro-Asiatic family. Various tribes, speaking different *Muṇḍā* dialects still live in Chota Nagpur, parts of N. and W. Bengal and the Madras Presidency.

So also *Naṭāüli*, *Saḍesara*, and *Saṇḍera*; if *Naṭa* means a particular caste, (the original word being *Naṭavalli*) and *Saṇḍa*, the same as the name of a people as given by the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. Now *Saṇḍesarā* (which I think, is the same as *Saḍesara*) is a surname, denoting people from this village.

Most of the place-names in part two of the group are self-explanatory, signifying the colonies of *Brāhmaṇas*, Coras, *Ḍheḍas* and *Kumbhāras*. *Ḍheḍavasaṇa* might signify a separate small colony of *Ḍheḍs* i.e. sweepers, for, as Dr. GHURYE[1] has noticed, in Gujarat impure as well as other caste groups had distinct quarters of the town allotted to them. If this interpretation is accepted, it would mean, that this practice is at least a 1000 years old. If *Kaṁbū* and *Luṇḍā* in *Kaṁboīkā* and *Luṇḍāvasaṇa* mean a thief, then both these places would also signify settlements of thieves. *Māla* in "*Mālakatarigrāma*" has several meanings. Besides signifying the name of *Viṣṇu*, it signifies the name of a barbarous tribe or people, a forest or wood near a village, a bird, a garland-maker, a painter, a dyer; which of these is applicable cannot be determined without visiting the place.

But taking into consideration the wild, undeveloped nature of the country towards Cutch in the west, and Mt. Abu in the north and Idar in the east, I am inclined to think that names like *Dāsaj*, *Kirāḍu*, Murthal, *Saṅḍer*, *Natāüli*, *Kaṁboī* and *Luṇḍāvasaṇa* stand for the

[1] *Caste and Race in India*, 10.

original inhabitants of the region, most of them non-aryans and given to plunder etc. Linguistically also many of these seem to be loan words in the MIA from the *Deśī* or aboriginal language.

In *Bhuharḍā*, which is identified with *Bhutwāḍ*, and *Saṇḍera*, which is also the home of a demon, we have perhaps names of spirits and the like.

Names after Trees, Flowers, Reeds

There are four names after food grains, of which *Ḍāṇgaraüā* (*Daṅgarwa*) deserves notice. In Gujarati '*Ḍāṅgar*' means unhusked rice,[1] the husked rice being called '*Chokhā*'. The latter is also mentioned in a 13th-century inscription from *Surāṣṭra*.

The word for rice, occuring most frequently in inscriptions is *vrīhi* and *tāṇḍula*; the latter is used in the same form in the Deccan and perhaps in many parts of India, whereas in Gujarat cooked rice is called *bhāt(a)*, uncooked but husked *chokhā*, and the unhusked '*ḍāṅgar*'.

Why is the last called *ḍāṅgar*? Has it anything to do with the hilly, swampy country in which rice grows? In Southern Gujarat, we have the famous *Ḍāṅg* region, which is hilly, wooded, and abode of Bhills and other aboriginal tribes. It might be producing rich rice crops.

I have been to *Ḍāṅgaraüā*. It has several low loessic mounds (*ṭiṁbās*), containing microliths. If, therefore, *Ḍāṅgar* means hilly, upland, country, then in *Ḍāṅgaraüā* we have a place-name, according to the physiographic character of the place.

A place-name '*Ḍoṅgā*' occurs in a 5th century inscription from Bengal and is compared with the name '*ḍāṅgā*' meaning high-land, high, in modern Bengal place-names. The words '*ḍāṅgi*', '*ḍāṅgar*', '*ḍāngari*' '*ḍāṅgauri*', and '*ḍāing*' also occur and all are said to have been derived from the *Deśī* word '*ḍāngā*'. This is also compared with the Assamese '*ḍāṅgaria*'.

Perhaps this one word '*ḍāṅgā*' or '*ḍāṅgar*' might reveal the relation between the original ethnic groups now inhabiting the *Ḍāṅgs* in Southern Gujarat, and similar regions in Bengal and Assam border. If it is a *Muṇḍā*, or any one of the Austro-Asiatic dialects, it will be

[1] The word rice itself comes from the Dravidian word, which reaching Greece in about the 4th century B. C. became current in all European languages. (Cited by P. K. GODE, NIA, VI, 264).

one more link in the chain of evidence, indicating to the former, in distant past, non-Aryan culture in Gujarat.

Among names after foods and drinks, we have a river and a place after *dadhi* (curds), a place after milk, *dudh(a)* (?). Even if there were more it would not be surprising, for our *Purāṇas* have already, at least for the last 1500 years or more, spoken of seas of milk, curds, honey etc. and of continents or lands named after trees.

Names after Sites

There are a number of names after purely physical features. Of these I would speak of only a few viz. Godrahaka, *Kāśahrada*, *Kuïla*, *Nāgasārikā*, and *Saṅgamakheṭaka*. Godrahaka, our Godhara, must have been so-called because of a pond or a lake where cows and buffaloes perhaps enjoyed their daily bath; *Kāṣahrada*, modern *Kāsandrā*, should have a lake full of *Kāśa* reeds, and *Nāgasārikā*, which is a later name for *Navasārikā*, seems to have been a Sanskritization to connote a lake full of cobras.

If *Kuïla* or Kiol is derived from Kukila meaning mountain, then at Kiol we have a fairly high wooded microlithic mound. I have been on this hill and think that the hill forms a prominent feature of the landscape.

Saṅkheḍā in the *tālukā* of the same name in Baroda *Prānt*, Central Gujarat, a few miles east of Baroda and Dabhoi is situated on the confluence of the Orsang and other small rivers. Hence, since the 6th century at least, the place is called *Saṅgama-Kheṭaka*, a village on the confluence. Even then it was the head-quarters of the district (*viṣaya*) of the same name, as it is now. It is one of the most ancient places in Central Gujarat, still preserving the beautiful art of lac-decoration on local wood.

But perhaps the most interesting is the name *Sābarmatī*. *It is popularly derived from Śvabhramatī*,[1] meaning one having holes or crevices. Little do people in Gujarat realize nor did I realize until while working on this subject my attention was drawn by Rao Bahadur

[1] And this would explain its physiography very well indeed. But according to Dr. CHATTERJI, OIA. *Śvabhramatī* > MIA. *Sobbhama* (d) *ī* should give a NIA. Sobhawai. *Sābaramatī* is the Sanskritization of some other name. What could that be?

K. N. DIKSHIT, how very accurate the name is of the *Sābarmatī* valley! One of the longest rivers in Gujarat, it has extremely high, sometimes 200 feet high banks. These are cut up into innumerable *kotars*, and *nalās* or gullies. Naturally these drew the attention of the *Purāṇakāra* or whoever saw it and named it *Śvabhramatī*. Though the name does not occur in a single inscription it vividly describes the physiography of the river valley. Hemacandra mentions it.

About 4 names seem to be after artificial physical features, or after buildings, such as a courtyard, a mound near a bathing place etc.

Names after birds and animals are very few. I wonder if Kurali is so called after Kurala, an osprey, and *Undirā* and *Uṭauyā* after the rat and the camel respectively. *Nāgasārikā* was certainly after the cobra.

In *Haṇiāyāṇi* and *Kambāli* we have perhaps names after articles of trade.

Lastly we have a few place-names after auspicious or pleasant events, or wealth such as *Aiṭhora* from Arthapura (?), Dhanora from Dhanapura (?), and *Ānandapura* or nagara, *Bhadrāṇaka* (*Bharāṇā*), *Kāliyāṇā*, and *Maṅgalapura* (*Māṅgrol*).

Pre-Caulukyan Place-Names

Corresponding to all these classes of place-names we have place-names from Pre-Caulukya inscripitons.

Among names of deities, we have almost all the names after *Śiva* such as *Aṅkuleśvara*, *Kāyāvatāra*, *Maṇnātha*, *Nāndipurī*, *Liṅgataḍāgikā*, *Liṅgavaṭaśiva*, *Viliśvara*, *Śivabhāgapura - viṣaya*, *Śivatrātaïïja*. Of these the oldest, going back to the 7th century is *Kāyāvatāra*, identified with *Kārvān*, near where *Śiva* is said to have manifested himself.

All these names show definitely the antiquity and wide prevalence of *Śiva* worship in Gujarat.

I do not know whether to class Bharukaccha or *Bhṛgukaccha* and *Akrureśvara* or *Aṅkuleśvara* as names after deities or men. As I have said previously *Bhṛgukaccha* appears but once, that too in a late 8th century inscription. Both it and *Akrureśvara* seem to be sanskritized forms of Bharukaccha and *Aṅkuleśvara* respectively. And the latter stands not for Akrura, a friend of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*, but most probably for Akula, which is one of the names of *Śiva*. The ending *-śvara* also leads to the same conclusion, as it is usually an ending of names,

places, and temples connected with *S'iva*. We should search at the present *Aṅkleśvar* and its vicinity for remains of an ancient *S'iva* temple. For its discovery would give us one of the oldest monuments in Central Gujarat going back to the 6th century.

I have not been able to identify any place-names after tribes or peoples. But colonies or large *Brāhmaṇa* and other settlements are indicated by three references to *Brāhmaṇa-pallikā* and *-sthāna*, and *Tāpasa-* and Purohita *-pallikā*, showing that ending *-pallī* or *-pallikā* was used for denoting any settlement and not necessarily a *cora* (thief) or any low class settlement.

There are a large number of place-names after trees. Of these the majority are after *Vaṭa* or *Vaḍ*, the Banian or the Indian Fig tree. It is followed by a variety of endings, such as *-draha*, *-gāma -nagara*, *-padra*, *-prājyaka*, *-thali*, *-valli*. It is not strange that a village or any settlement should be founded under a Baniyan tree. For in India, it is one of the largest natural shelters, providing refuge to one and all. Many of the settlements, which were first temporary only, must have later grown into large villages or cities, retaining the original name. Baroda, *Vaḍodarā*, the capital of Central Gujarat has its roots in one of such settlements of the 7th-8th century.

In one instance we have the place-name *Kumārivaḍao* indicating the worship of *Kumārī* or *Durgā* at or under the *Vaṭa* tree. In this ceremony a girl between 10 to 12 years old is placed on a pedestal as the representative of the goddess and fed with offerings to the idol.

Among other trees we have *Āmraka* or *āṁbā* (the mango), *Jaṁbu* (rose-apple tree), Kadamba (*Nanclea cadamba*), a tree with orange coloured fragrant blossoms, *Kāpitha* (*Feronia Elephantum*), 'a tree on which monkeys dwell'; *S'amī* (*Prosopis spicigera* or *Mimosa Suma*), a tree with very tough, hard wood, supposed to contain fire; Pippala (*Ficus Religiosa*), the sacred Fig tree, and Udumbara (*Ficus Glomerata*) Vavula, the Babool tree.

I do not think that in Udumbara we have the reference to famous Audumbaras,[1] a people mentioned in *Pāṇini* (IV. 2. 53.), MBH. II

[1] According to PRZYLUSKI, *JA*, 1926, 28-48 it is probably an Austric word; whereas the people lived along the ancient highway from Taxila to Pataliputra. *JA*, 1921, 3, and MOTICHANDRA, *op. cit.* 44-46.

(48. 12.) and coins. This (*Udambara*) as well as others are the most common trees in India, worshipped specially on certain occasions, and held in varying degrees of importance from time immemorial. As as far as Gujarat is concerned these trees constitute the chief flora of the country, particulary its northern and most of the central regions, the important exception being the Nim tree and the Tamarind tree.

In *S'irīṣapadra* and *Kārañjavasahikā* we have place - names after the flower *S'irīsa* (*Acacia Sirissa*) and *Karañja* (*Pongamia Glabra*).

There is a solitary place-name after fruits in general, Phalahavadra, and similarly after the food grain *Tāṇḍula* (rice). There is one after *S'arkarā* (sugar).

Place-names after purely natural sites include those having a *sara*, *hrada*, *taḍāka*, preceded by the name of a tree such as *Jaṁbu*, or the reed or animal, *hasti*, *nāga*. *Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa* or *-purī* seems to be after an artificial bower of wood.

Place-names after birds and animals are few. One seems to be named after Kukkura, a dog, and *Kukkuṭa*, (= modern *Kūkād*, 9 miles s.w. of Hathab), a wild dog (or fowl). If not, they might stand for the settlements of mixed classes Kukkura and *Kukkuṭa*, the latter being the off-spring of a *Niṣāda* by a *S'udra* woman. Kukuras are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparvan*, 48. 14, along with the *Ambaṣṭhas Tārkṣyas*, Vastrapas, *Pāhlavas*; they formed part of the ancient *Vṛṣṇi gaṇa*.[1]

Whereas the interpretation of the above names is doubtful, there is no doubt of *Siṁhapallikā*-pura, and *Vagghāccha*, *Vyāghrāsa* and *Varāhagrāma*, the first being after the lion, the second and third after the tiger and the fourth after the boar.

In *Kārpaṭavāṇijya*, *Lohigakakṣa* and *Suvarṇapallī*, we have possibly names after traders dealing in rags which is the original meaning of *Karpaṭa*, (which incidentally is not an original Sanskrit word, but a loan word from the Austric, according to Dr. KATRE), and artisans or craftsman working in iron and gold respectively.

Among names after events I would note only *Harṣapura*. Does it commemmorate the visit of *Harṣa*, the famous emperor of N. India, in the 7th century to Gujarat?

[1] MOTICHANDRA identifies them with the Khokhar or Khokhur tribe of the Panjab. *JUPHS*, XVI, ii, 52.

The study of the endings or suffixes of place-names and their comparison with the endings of modern place-names as well as the interpretation of the names themselves has shown that a majority of the endings can be traced back to a very early period. For instance *Pāṇini*[1] refers to "*nagara, pura, grāma, kheṭa, ghoṣa, kula, suda, sthala, karṣa, tīra, rūpya, kaccha, agni, vaktra, garta,* (all these used as an *uttarapada in forming place-names*), *palāda,* (meaning straw, weeds), *arma, vaha, hrada, prastha,* and *kantha,* supposed to be a *Śaka* name for 'a city'."

Yet in different parts of Gujarat and Kathiawad certain endings predominate, for example *vasaṇa* in N. Gujarat, and *sthalī* in Kathiawad.

That although these endings denoted originally a part of land, enclosure, a part of the village etc., either because these places had grown up or the endings had become part of the name itself, a second suffix, *grāma,* was added on to these names. Till about the 13th century these endings persisted. With the advent of Muslim rule a number of old places came to have new name ending in *pura,* or *purā,* or totally new places arose bearing such endings.

Antiquity of places as well as new cultural forces were reflected in the names themselves. Whereas in the older names the percentage of names of deities and persons was not much, a fairly large number being after trees, lakes or ponds, some after animals, the new place-names were mostly after persons or deities such as *Śiva* (*Mahādeva*), *Rāma, Hanumān,* or later forms of *Viṣṇu* (*Raṇachhoḍ* etc). This shows how gradually the cult of personal gods as well as the tendency to perpetuate the memory or eulogise an individual by naming a place after him grew. This tendency though natural has been a characteristic feature of Gujarat and *Gujarātīs,* as even a cursory census of names of houses owned by *Gujarātīs* and Deccanis in Bombay, Ahmadabad, and Poona, would show. The *Gujarātīs* being a largely business community incline to be more materialistic, and cannot think except in terms of money and their family, particularly the person who is supposed to be a fortune bringer, whereas the Deccanis can think of such abstract and idealistic names as *Ardhavirāma, Samādhi,* for their

[1] AGRAWALA, *JUPHS,* XVI, 42-44.

houses. To a *Gujarātī* even a small cottage is a Dhana or *Mānekmahāl* or *prāsāda*, and large house a 'nagar.'

Some of the older place-names as Kaccha, Bharukaccha, *Sābarmatī*, *Dāṅgarwa* have shown how characteristic they are of the physiography of certain regions of Gujarat. Whereas a further investigation into the names indicative of tribal migrations and colonisation would throw light on the ethnic composition of the population.

Names such as Vahichar have revealed the true antiquity of certain cults now prevalent in Gujarat.

Botanical and zoological names are few. This is not surprising considering the fact that though most of Gujarat is a rich alluvial plain, it cannot boast of a luxurious vegetation, except where special efforts are made to plant trees. So whatever names of trees inscriptions have provided are fairly representative of the botanical wealth of the country. Some more names of other trees will be had when place-names of the wooded regions of Southern and Central Gujarat will be studied. Inscriptions do not mention them because perhaps these areas did not directly fall within the then urban and rural expansion.

Gujarat zoology has nothing special to offer except perhaps the lion, whose name or of a person bearing such name, is probably enshrined in *Siṁhapura* or Sihor on the south-east coast of Kathiawad, whereas in *Vaggāchha* or *Vyāgrāsa* in Central Gujarat seems to be enshrined the tiger, even now found roaring in the forests of Rajpipla and other eastern regions of Gujarat.

The study of place-names alone thus gives us a glimpse of Gujarat: the land, and the people, and their cultural and physical environment.

APPENDIX I

CLASSIFIED LIST OF NAMES PROPER

(A) NAMES AFTER DEITIES

(1) General — *Deüli-grāma*, Deuli-*vāḍā*, *Devāü-grāma*, Deva-nagara.

(2) Vedic Gods

(a) Indra — *Indilā*(?), if from Indra. *Indrā-vaḍa*, *Varaṇaka*? (N. of Indra).

(b) *Varuṇa* — *Varaṇa-vāḍā*(?), *Varuṇa-śarmakiyapadra*(?)

(3) *Viṣṇu* — Satyapura (N. of *Viṣṇu*) as Satya-*Nārāyaṇa*(?) *S.K.P.* 1136. *Seṣadevati-grāma*, *Vāmana*-sthali, *Vāmana*-pura. *Mālakatari-grāma*(?) (*māla*, a name of *Viṣṇu*, M.W. 813). *Tāladhvaja* (*Balarāma*, *M.W.* 445).

(4) *Siva* — *Sivaliyā-grāma*, *Someśvara-paṭṭana.* (Deva-nagara). Stambha-*tīrtha*, *Kālhri*(?) (cf. *Kālhali*, *M.W.* 281) *Kuśaloḍa* (cf. *Kuśala*, a name of *Siva*, *M.W.* 297). *Ghaṇṭāpalli* (*Ghaṇṭa*, a name of *Siva*. *Ghaṇṭa*, a name of *Siva's* attendant. *M.W.* 375). *Ghaṇṭelāṇā-grāma*. *Ghūsaḍi*, perhaps a local name of *Siva*, where later *Vīrameśvara's* temple was built, or the old temple was so called.
Muṇḍa-sthala (*Muṇḍa*, applied to *Siva*, *M.W.* 822).

(5) *Sūrya* — *Sūryaja*, *Moḍherā* (cf. *Muṇḍāra*, n. of a place where the Sun is worshipped. *M.W.* 822). *Bhāmṣara* (*Bhāskar*, is it from *Bhāskara*? *P.K.* Bhakkara. V. 18.)

(6) Candra — *Candrāvatī*, *Candrāpalli*.

(7) Goddesses — *Viṣṇu's* consort *Lakṣmī*
Indilā (*Indirā*. *M.W.* 164).

(B) NAMES AFTER MEN AND WOMEN

(1) General — (after general designation).
Rājapuri, *Rājasiyani*, *Rāṇāvāḍā*, *Rāṇeloya*,

(2) Personal
Aṇahilla-pāṭaka, *Āśāpalli*, *Bhojuyā*, Dhavalakka, *Hāṁsalapura*, *Mahā-Hāṁsalapura*, *Līlāpura*, *Nandāvasaṇa*, Prasanna-pura (?), *Rupāpura*, *Sahaja-vasaṇa*, *Sāhilavāḍā*, *Salakhaṇapura*, *Sākli*, Sihaka, *Sūnaka*, *Varuṇaśarmmakiyapadra*.

(C) NAMES AFTER TRIBES OR PEOPLES OR GROUPS OF PEOPLE

(1) Tribes or Peoples
Ahirāṇa, Dāsayaja, Gurjaramaṇḍala, Haṇḍāüdra, Kīrātakūpa, Mahiṁṣaka, Mahisāṇā, Muṇḍasthala, Naṭāüli, Saṇḍesara(?), *Saṇḍera, Tāladhvaja.*

(2) Groups & Professions
Bāṁbhaṇavāḍā, Brahmapurī, Brhamāṇa, Coruyāvāḍā, Dheḍavasaṇa-grāma, Kamboïkā, Kulāvasaṇa, Kumbhāroṭaka Luṇḍā-vasaṇa, Mālakatari(?)

(3) Spirits etc.
Bhuhardā (*Bhutwāḍa*)(?), *Saṇḍera* (N. of a serpent demon).

(D) NAMES AFTER TREES, FLOWERS, REEDS AND GRASSES

(1) Trees
Nilachhā (Nilki)=(1) Dark Leaves. (2) Date Tree.
Śāla-grāma,
Varaṇavāḍā (*varaṇa*=*Aśvattha* tree).
Vaḍasara.
Tāladhvaja.

(2) Flowers
Phulasara.

(3) Reeds & Grasses
Darbhāvatī (*Dabhoï*).
Guṇḍāüka (1) *Guṇḍā*, a kind of reed.
(2) *Guṇḍaka*, dust, powder.
Iṭilā *Iṭa*—a kind of grass, a structure woven from it.
Karīra (1) a kind of bamboo.
(2) a thorny plant growing in deserts and fed upon by camels.
(3) a cricket, a grass hopper.
Kaḍā *kaḍā*, straw.
Kāśahrada *Kāśa*, a species of grass *saccharum.*
Kāsa, a kind of root.
Naḍḍulataḍāgikā (*Nāḍol*).
Natāüli.

(4) Food Grains
Dāṅgarüā (*Dāngarwā*), *Dāṅgarī, Diṅgarī,*
Kaḍā (*Kaḍā*), the stalks of various sorts of pulse.
Kaṁboïkā (*Kamboï*), *Kambūka*, the husk of rice.
Khaṇḍohaka (*Khaṇḍaka*), a treacle, or molasses, cane sugar.
Masūra (1) A kind of lentil, (2) a pillow, (3) a harlot.

(E) NAMES AFTER FOODS AND DRINKS

Dadhimatīnadī, Dadhipadra (*Dāhod*), *Dudhukhā, Kṣārvā* (*Khārvā*).

(F) NAMES AFTER SITES

(a) Natural Physical Features. (b) Artificial.

(a) Godrahaka (*Godharā*).[1]

Guṇṭhāvāḍā (1) *Guṇṭha*, to make dusty.
(2) *Deśī*, a low type of horse.
(3) Crafty.
(4) to enclose.

Ilā (1) earth. (2) flow (3) speech.

Kāśahrada-grāma, *Nāgasārikā*, > *Navasārī*, Phulasara, *Prajharikā*, Samadhiala (Junction, boundary, crevice), *Saṅgamakheṭaka* (*Saṅkheḍā*) *Saṇḍera* (*saṇḍa* = a group of trees, plants, woods, thicket). *Vaḍasara*.

(b) *Artificial*

Āṅgaṇavāḍā = a court yard (cf. *Gujarātī* " *aṅg* (a) *ṇo*).
Iṭilā a grass structure.
Toraṅgrāma=*Toraṇā* (1) a mound near a bathing place. (2) an arch.
Uṁṭaüya (Utwa) = *uṭa* = leaves, grass.
uṭaja = a hut made of leaves, a house in general.

(G) *Names after Birds, Animals*

(a) Birds Kurali, kurala, an ospray.
(b) Animals Undira (Udra or Undra) (?) (Eludura = rat). *Uṁṭauyā* (Utma)? (camel?).
(c) *Nāgasārikā*.

(H) *Names after Articles of Trade Metal etc*

Haṇiyāṇi Kāmbali,

(I) *Names after Events*

(a) Place-names after Auspicious or Pleasant Events

Aiṭhora (Arthapura ?), *Ānandapura*, *Ānanda-nagara*, *Bhadrānaka* (*Bharāṇā*), Dhanora (Dhanapura ?), *Kāliyāṇā* (Kaliana), *Maṅgalapura* (*Maṅgrol*), *Rāigrāma*, = *Rāī* (i) barking, noisy.
(ii) rich, prosperous.

[1] The word Godhara (Godhra) occurs in Kumaun and Garhwal to mean a cistern, a spring with a masonry duct. S. K. C.

APPENDIX I

PRE-CAULUKYAN PLACE-NAMES

I. NAMES OF PERSONS: (a) Names of Deities,
(b) Names of men & women.

(a) Names after Deities

Gurjjara	*Kāyāvatāra* (*Karvān* ?) cf. *Kāyārohaṇa* & *Kāyāvarohaṇa*
	Mannātha.
	Nāndīpuri.
Cāhamāna	*Arjunadevigrāma.* cf. Arjuna N. of Indra. *M.W.* 90.
Rāṣṭrakūṭa	*Liṅgataḍāgika* (*S'aṅkartalao*)
Caul. *Lāṭa*	*Liṅgavaṭaśiva*
	Villiśvar (Balesvara), *Bilīsvara,* N. of a place for pilgrimage perhaps w.r. for *Bilveśvara.*
	Bilva (later also Vilva, *M.W.* 932.)
Maitraka	*Śivabhāgapura-viṣaya.*
	S'ivatrātaïjja.

(b) Names after Men and Women

Kaṭaccuri	Bharukaccha (*EI,* VI. 297) Baruka name of prince. Name of a country or a people, *Mbh. M.W.* 748.	
Saṅgamasiṁha	(*EI,* X, 272).	
Gurjjara	*Akureśvara* (*IA,* XIII. 82; XIII. 81, 87, 88, 115; *IA,* V, 114, *IA,* VIII. 61; VII. 183; XIII. 86; 115.	
Cāhamāṇa	*Bhṛugukaccha*	*EI,* XII. 202.
Rāṣṭrakūṭa	*Aṅkuleśvara*	*IA,* XIII. 69.
	Bharukaccha	*IA,* V. 147; XII. 185.
	Harṣapura	
Maitraka	Bharukaccha	*IA,* XV. 338.
	Tāpasapallikā.	

II. NAMES AFTER GROUPS OF PEOPLE: PROFESSION

Rāṣṭrakūṭa	(i) *Brāhmaṇapallikā.*
	(ii) -do- in *Mahiṣakaviṣaya.*
Traikūṭaka	*Purohitapallikā.*

NAMES AFTER TREES, FLOWERS, REEDS AND GRASSES

(A) After Trees

Traikūṭaka	*Āmraka-grāma*
Kaṭaccūri	*Kumārivaḍao* (worship of *Kumarī* or *Durgā,* when a girl between 10 and 12 years old is placed on a pedestal as the goddess's representative and fed with offerings made to the idol. *M.W.*292

Gurjjara	Jambusara
	Śamīpadraka. The *Śamī* tree.
	(*Tathā*) Umbara.
Guj.Cāl.	Jambusara
	Śamīpadraka.
Rāṣṭrakūṭa	*Ambapāṭaka, Ambakagrāma*, Jambusara, *Jambusārikā, Kāpitha*, Kapittha "on which monkeys dwell".
Pippalāchcha	(i) the sacred Fig tree, (ii) a kind of bird.
Vaḍḍavalli *Vaṭanagara* *Vaṭapadraka* *Vaḍapadraka*	} *Vāṭa*, the Banyan or Indian Fig Tree.
Vavulāla-grāma	(*Baboolgrāma*).
Calukyas of *Lāṭa*	*Vaṭapadra*
	Viliśvara.
	Liṅgavaṭaśiva (*Lingād*).
Maitraka	Kadambapadraka. *Pippalarukhāri*(?), *Śamipadraka* Udumbaragahvara (See Umbara above), *Vaṭadraha, Vaṭagāma, Vaṭanumeka, Vaṭaprajyaka, Vaṭasthali.*

(B) AFTER FLOWERS AND FRUITS

Gurjjara	*Śirīsapadra*
Rāṣṭrakūṭa	*Kārañja-vasahikā*. (Name of an enemy of Indra, *M.W.* 254).
Fruit	
Gurjjara	Phalahavadra (Phalod)

(C) AFTER REEDS AND GRASSES

Rāṣṭrakūṭa	*Kāśadraha, Kaśahrada.*	} = Kasaundra
Maitraka	*Kāśahrada.*	

(D) AFTER FOODS GRAINS

Taṇḍulapadraka, Taṇḍula (grain after thrashing and winnowing, esp. rice.

Taṇḍulikāśrama, N. of a *Tīrtha. M. W.* 432.

(E) AFTER FOODS AND DRINKS

Gurjjara	*Kṣīrasara.*
Maitraka	*Śarkarāpadraka.*

(F) AFTER SITES

(a) Natural, (b) artificial.

(a) Natural —Lakes and Ponds.

Traikūṭaka	*Kaniyastaḍākasarikā*
Santilla	*Pāsṇihrada.*
Gurjjara	Jambusaras
Guj.Cāl.	*Kṣīrasara*
	Navasārikā
Maitraka	Hastihradaka, Jambusara, *Kāśahrada,* Madasara, *Vaṭahrada.*
Rāṣṭrakūṭa	*Kāśadraha, Kāśahrada, Liṅgataḍāgikā, Nāgasārikā.*
(b) Artificial—	*Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa, Kāṣṭhapurī.*

(F) NAMES AFTER BIRDS, ANIMALS ETC.

Gurjjara	*Kukkūṭavallikā.*
Maitraka	*Kukkurāṇaka.* Kukkura, a dog, a despicable man of mixed caste, name of a people, *Mbh.* ii. 1872.
	Kukkuṭa—A wild cock, an onomatopoe word imitating the cock's cry; the plant Marsilla; the offs ring of a *Niṣāda* by a *Śudra* woman; name of a pot herb.

NAMES OF ANIMALS

Maitraka	*Siṁhapallikā*-pathaka
	Siṁhapura (Sihor)
Rāṣṭrakūṭa	*Vagghāccha* (*Vāghodia*)
	Vyāghrāsa (Vaghas)
	Varāhagrāma (Vargaon)
	Nāgasārikā.

(G) NAMES AFTER ARTICLES OF TRADE ETC.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa	*Kārpaṭavāṇijya* (Kapadvanj)
Gurjjara	*Lohigakakṣa.*
	Suvarṇa-palli
Rāṣṭrakūṭa	-do-

(H) NAMES AFTER EVENTS (Auspicious)

Kaṭaccuri	*Ānandapura*
Maitraka	*Ānandapura*
Gurjjara	*Śrāddhikā.*
Rāṣṭrakūṭa	*Harṣapura*
Guj.Cāl.	Vijaya-Aniruddhapura
	Vijayapura.

IX. PLACE NAMES AFTER CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES

Kaṭaccuri	*Kumārivaḍao.*

Lecture IV

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ETHNOGRAPHY

CULTURAL significance of personal names is the theme of this lecture. I have already pointed out how even our present day names are significant, and their study to a future student of the 20th century culture will reveal the various factors—political and cultural—which are current during our time. Work of such a type dealing with the early peoples of Gujarat or any part of India has not been done. Though the works on Indian castes are many, perhaps a legion as M.M. KANE thinks, still the major works may be classified into the following groups.

Surveys of Castes and Tribes

Dr. GHURYE has shown that as early as the 4th century B. C., Megesthenes, the Greek ambassador in the court of Candragupta Maurya was struck by the caste system in Indian social organization. Since then it has been drawing the attention of travellers, administrators, and students of literature. But "the application of the sociological method to the explanation of caste, i.e., a systematic attempt to elucidate the genesis and growth of the institution of caste, by a comprehensive study may be said to begin with the works of Denzil IBBETSON and J. C. NESFIELD." These works were published in 1884 and 1885 respectively. Earlier still we had the works of WILSON on *Indian Castes*, and SHERRING on *Hindu Tribes and Castes*. Thus we have in the last 50 years, due to the efforts of these and other scholars like CROOKE, RISLEY, RUSSEL, THURSTON, RANGACHARIAR, Anantakrishna IYER, and ENTHOVEN, fairly good accounts of the castes and sub-castes of the Panjab, North-Western Provinces, Bengal, the Central Provinces, South India, Mysore and Gujarat. Whereas these are mostly records of the existing castes, RISLEY, GHURYE, and CROOKE also based their conclusions on the anthropological measurements of some of the castes and sub-castes, particularly of Bengal. This work is now followed up to some extent by the Census Commissions.

Correlation of these materials with the old literary accounts has been attempted by SENART, GHURYE and others, while WEBER, KETKAR, DUTT, RAO and KANE have traced the development of the caste through early Vedic literature, *Sūtras*, *Smṛtis*, *Dharmaśāstras*, and later *Nibandhakāras*.

Inscriptions as dated, genuine, sources of ethnographical material were recognized by early epigraphists. Occasional references to these were made by FLEET, BUEHLER, and KIELHORN, but more by D. R. BHANDARKAR who propounded several theories. GHURYE and KANE have also made some use of the epigraphic material in their works. But so far there has been no attempt to study the inscriptions of a region from the earliest historical times to the modern with a view to collating the purely ethnographical material and personal names and correlate these with the existing data.

I have not been able to do the work of correlation (of the epigraphic and the modern) as it should be done. This is for want of modern data. Since the publication of ENTHOVEN's *Tribes and Castes of the Bombay Presidency*, the School of Economics and Sociology have undertaken a few regional studies. These include "Social and Ethnic Study of the Chitpavan Brahmins, "The Vadnagara Brahmins of Gujarat," "the Dasa Srimali Jains of Kathiawad" and two or three aboriginal tribes in the Presidency.

Nature of Epigraphic Material

I am not attempting anything of this kind. My object is to present a study of the material collected from inscriptions which will be useful for any future study of the present-day castes in Gujarat. The material presented by the inscriptions is neither exhaustive nor of a uniform nature for all the periods.

For about 800 years, from 300 B. C.-500 A. D., the inscriptions give nothing but the names of rulers, and very rarely of those of the ruled. Subsequent inscriptions—those of the *Traikūṭakas* and *Kaṭaccūris*—mention besides names of kings some details about the *Brāhmaṇa* donees.

Things improve with the Gurjjara, *Cālukya*, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, Maitraka, and *Paramāra* records. Herein we get more details about *Brāhmaṇas*: theirs and their fathers' names, their *Gotra* and Vedic *Śākhā* and the

place from which they emigrated, called *Vinirgata* in inscriptions, and the place where they had settled down (*nivāsita*).

Very few names of *Brāhmaṇas* occur in the later Caulukya inscriptions, but they contain names of ministers and other residents of the realm, which give some insight into the names of people other than *Brāhmaṇas*. Since we cannot complain about the epigraphical material we have got to make the best use of it possible.

Names proper and the suffixes, *upapada* as *Pāṇini* terms a suffix, have a special significance in the cultural and ethnological evolution of Indian castes.

Naming of Children

In India, as is well known, names are not given, except in ultra-modern families, to new-born children haphazardly. There is a whole ceremony attached to the naming of a child, called *nāmasaṁskaraṇa*, when

(i) the child is given a name after a particular *rāśi* beginning with a certain letter,

(ii) among certain Gujarati castes by father's sister, called *phoï*,

(iii) so many days after birth.

This is not a new-fangled thing, but that its roots go back to *Ṛgvedic* times has been very well shown by KANE[1]. He has pointed out how the original practice underwent certain modifications from time to time and which are noted in the literature of that period. Unfortunately these respective literary sources cannot be so well dated nor their provenance fixed as those of the inscriptions with which we are dealing. So by a comparison of the epigraphical data with the literary, we may at least fix the latest date and the areas in which the customs and practices described in literature were followed. It would appear from KANE's study that the literary data about naming falls into three or four distinct periods.

The first is the Vedic period, embracing the evidence from the *Ṛgveda* downwards to all the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*.

The second is the *Sūtra* period, a period when the various *Gṛhya Sūtras* came into existence and laid down rules for *Jātakarma*, naming, marriage, etc.

[1] "Naming of a child or a person", *IHQ*, XIV (1938), 224-44.

The third may be called the *Smṛti* and the fourth post-*Smṛti* period, the last ending about 1300 A. D.

Vedic Period

In Vedic period it would appear that a man had at least two names. One of these was supposed to be secret (*guhya*), known to the parents only. Instances of persons having three or four names are also found. No details as to when and how these names are to be given are prescribed. But an analysis of the various examples would show that

(i) Usually a person in Vedic literature is referred to by two names. One of them was

(a) his own name, and the other either

(b) his gotra name, or

(c) patronymic or sometimes (rarely) matronymic

(ii) at times when three names are mentioned, either one of these is his own name, the second his *nakṣatra* name and the third was given for his performance of a sacrifice, or the first was a person's ordinary name, the second a derivative from his father's name and the last derived from his *gotra*.

Very few instances have been noted in which any of these names is directly after a Vedic deity, like Indra, *Varuṇa*, *Pūṣan*. For there was a rule that *abhivādanīya* names (i.e. names given to a *śiṣya* at the time of his *upanayana* by the teacher) should be derived from deities. "From the times of *Tai. S.*[1] different presiding deities had been assigned to the *nakṣatras*"; e.g. (*Kṛttikās* had Agni, *Rohiṇī Prajāpati*, *Ārdrā* Rudra etc.)

Sutra Period

More specific details about naming are given by the *Gṛhya Sūtras*. From the nature of the details given, they may be grouped into three classes.

The first class represented by the *Āśvalāyana*,[2] and the *Āpastamba*[3] *Gṛhya Sūtras* tell us that after or on the 10th day

[1] *Tai S* IV. 4. 10. Of course, in some cases more than one god is assigned to one *Nakṣatra*, and different *Nakṣatras* have the same gods.

[2] I. 13. 1 and 4-9. KANE, *op. cit.* 229.

[3] VI. 15. 1-3. KANE, *Ibid.*

(1) a son be given a name, beginning with
(a) a sonant, semi-vowel in the middle, and *visarga* at its end, and consisting either of 2 or 4 syllables: 2 for firm position, 4 for spiritual glory.
(b) the first part of the name being a noun, the second part a verb;
(c) another name after a *nakṣatra*, which was to be secret.
(2) a daughter be given a name of uneven syllables.

In the second class we have *Hiraṇyakeśī*,[1] *Bhāradvāja*,[2] Gobhila,[3] *Śankhāyana*,[4] *Baudhāyana*,[5] *Khādira*,[6] and *Mānava*.[7]

According to some of these a secret name may be given at the time of birth, and the other after 10 days, 12 days, 100 days or a year. This latter, according to the *Gobhila*, must be a word ending in a *kṛt* termination and must not be *taddhita*. Another name is given at the *upanayana* by the teacher. This must be derived from a deity, or a *nakṣatra*, or his *gotra*. (II. 10.21).

The *Mānava* definitely lays down that the name should not be directly that of a deity.

The girl's name, *Gobhila* and *Mānava* specify, should end in *dā*.

The third class consisting of *Pāraśara*[8] and *Baudhāyanīya Gṛhya Śeṣa Sūtra*,[9] besides laying down that

(i) *nāmakaraṇa* should be on the 10th or 12th day,
(ii) one name after *nakṣatra*, and the second at *upanayana*,

add that a *Brahmāṇa's* name should end in *śarman*,

Kṣatriya's	—do—	*varman*
Vaiśya's	—do—	*gupta*
Śūdra's	—do—	*bhṛtya* or *dāsa*.

[1] II. 14. 10-15, KANE, *Ibid.* 232.
[2] I. 26. *Ibid.*
[3] II. 7. 15; II. 8. 14-16; II. 10.21. *Ibid.* 230.
[4] Sutra 267. I. 24. 4-6. *Ibid.* 233.
[5] I. 24. *Ibid.* 231.
[6] II. 2.30-31; 3.6 and 10-12 and 4.12. *Ibid.*, 231.
[7] I. 18. 1-2. *Ibid.* 233.
[8] I. 17. *Ibid.* 232.
[9] I. 11. 4-18. *Ibid* 234.

A girl's name should have an uneven number of syllables and have a *taddhita* suffix, or end in a long vowel.

Lastly the *Vārāha-Gṛhya-Sūtra*[1] lays down that a father's name should be avoided and a girl's name should not be after a river, *nakṣatra*, the moon, the sun, *Pūṣan* or should not be a name ending in *rakṣita* or *dattā* preceded by the name of a deity. This latter injunction is also found in *Manu*.[2] I should not be surprised if this injunction was intended to stop the practice started by new converts to Buddhism. For among them, as evidenced by early inscriptions, such names are found.[3]

In *Pāṇini's* time names after *nakṣatras* were common, as is evident from the rules he lays down.[4]

Thus the *Sūtra* literature itself shows a development of the Naming formulae, indicative of and reflecting perhaps the changing social fashion. *Why and of what* exact period we shall investigate later.

Smrti Period

"Manu omits," as KANE[5] has tersely pointed out, "all these elaborate rules about giving a name in the case of males, makes no reference to the *nakṣatra* name or *abhivādanīya* given to a boy, but gives two simple rules:

> 1) The name of a *Brāhmaṇa* should be indicative of a *maṅgala*; of a *Kṣatriya* strength, of a *Vaisya* wealth and of *Sūdra* lowness.
>
> 2) To the name of a *Brāhmaṇa* an *upapada* (suffix) should be joined indicating *śarman* (happiness or blessing); of a king an *upapada* connected with protection; of a *Vaiśya* indicating prosperity and of a *Sūdra* indicating dependence or service.

Manu thus seems to enlarge upon the *Pārāśara* and *Baudhāyanīya Gṛhya Sūtras* about the *upapadas*, and adds new facts about the name proper.

[1] III 1-3. *Ibid.*, 233.
[2] III. 9. *Ibid.*
[3] See SANKALIA, "Cultural Significance of Personal Names in the Inscriptions of Deccan" *BDCRI*, 3. 349-91.
[4] IV. 3. 34. 36, KANE, *op. cit.* 236.
[5] *IHQ*, 1938, 238.

Nibandha Period

Centuries later the *Mitākṣarā*, a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* quotes *Sankha*, who says that a father should give a name connected with a family deity.[1]

Lastly we should note the practice advocated by mediaeval works on *Jyotiṣa*. According to it "each of the 27 *nakṣatras* is divided into 4 *pādas*, and to each *pāda* of a *nakṣatra* a specific letter is assigned (e.g. *cū, ce, cu*, and *lā* for the 4 *pādas* of *Aśvinī* from which a person born in a particular *pāda* of *Aśvini* was called either *Cudāmaṇi, Cediśa, Coleśa Lakṣmaṇa.*"[2] Though this practice is disapproved by a late work like *Dharmasindhu* (1790 A. D.), it survives among some of the *Gujarātī* castes, where names are given after letters of the person's *rāśi.*[3]

The inscriptions provide dated evidence. When this s compared with the above type of evidence we can at once note the changes in social fashions, its adherence to the *Śāstra* or canonical and the latest date for the literary evidence.

In discussing this material period by period, or dynasty by dynasty, I would first take up the names of the members of different dynasties themselves, and then of other people mentioned in inscriptions.

Names of Members of Royal Families

The Girnar edicts of *Aśoka* have to be left out completely, as they do not mention any names pertaining to Gujarat. But of the rulers over *Surāṣṭra* during this period a reference is made in the inscription of *Rudradāman.* These rulers (a governor or viceroy, *rāṣṭriya*) of Candragupta and *Aśoka* were respectively *Vaiśya Puṣyagupta* and Yavana *Tuṣāspha. Puṣyagupta*, who is definitely called a *Vaiśya*, might be some relative of Candragupta. In that case it would show that he too did not originally belong to a *Kṣatriya* family. *Viṣṇu Purāṇā* gives *gupta* as a *Vaiśya* suffix. But since *Tuṣāspha* is definitely an Iranian

[1] *Ibid*, 235. My colleague, Dr. Iravati KARVE, kindly informs me that this practice is followed in *Mahāraṣṭra*. Thus, among a Karmarkar family, all boys are named after *Śiva*.

[2] *IHQ*, XV, 238.

It would appear that this practice was known in *Mahārāṣṭra* in the 11th-12th century. For *Śrī Jñāneśvara* in his *Jñāneśvarī*, while singing the praises of god *Gaṇapati*, at the beginning of *Adhyāya* 17, says that his (god's) *Rāśināmva* was Mauna.

name (cf. *Viṣṭāśva* (Hyastaspes), and *Caispiś* (Teispes) the names of Darius' (*Dārāyava* (h) us) father, and great grand-father respectively) it would either mean that the term 'Yavana' was applied to all foreigners from beyond the northwest frontier, or that *Tuṣāspha*, though originally an Iranian, and retaining this characteristic name, had become a naturalised Indian.

Why should a Yavana—Greek or Iranian—be put in charge of *Surāṣṭra* by *Aśoka* ? The explanation is to be found in the fact that just 50 years previous to the Mauryan occupation of *Surāṣṭra*, parts of northwestern and western India, including perhaps Sind and *Surāṣṭra*, were under the hegemony of the Iranian emperor Darius and his successors. Either a number of Persians or Iranians had come and settled down in these newly conquered or controlled territories and so an Iranian was sent down as their governor or merely an Iranian was appointed to this new province. When the Mauryas conquered *Surāṣṭra* they found for some reasons, necessary or convenient, to continue this practice. Viewed under this political background, the term 'Yavana' might more probably connote any northwestern foreigner and not necessarily an Ionian Greek.

It has been shown[1] that the governors during the subsequent dynasties —*Śāka Kṣatrapas* and Guptas—viz. *Suviśākha* and *Parṇadatta* and *Cakrapālita* respectively were Iranians. *Cakrapālita* means 'one protected by the disc (bearer)', i.e. devotee of *Viṣṇu*, a name adopted after this person became a *Vaiṣṇava* (Hindu). But his father's name *Parṇadatta* yields no sensible meaning, and seems to be "an Indianization of an Iranian name Farna-*dāta*, which representing an old Iranian name *Xvarenodāta*, would mean 'created by Majesty'; a name of the same type as Ahura-*dāta*." Such a long tradition of no less than 700 years of Iranian rulers over *Surāṣṭra*, if really true, might imply a settlement of Iranians somewhere in Kathiawad. And Dr. MOTI CHANDRA[2] has rightly suggested that we should search for this in the *Junagadh* State. For aught we know, the descendants of *Tuṣāspha*, *Suviśākha*, *Parṇadatta*, and *Cakrapālita* might still be surviving! Of course under some Indian names. For the names themselves are after the Hindu gods—*Kārttikeya* and *Viṣṇu*.

[1] See J. CHARPENTIER *JRAS*, , 1928, 904-5.

[2] *Nāgarī-Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Vikrama Samvat 2000, 184.

Ksatrapa

The names of the *Kṣatrapa* rulers themselves show how gradually they were Indianized and the religions they professed or patronized, and were popular during their period. We are explicitly told that they were *Śakas*.

The name of the first ruler *Caṣṭana* is purely non-Indian, whereas the names of the subsequent rulers, about 29 in all, have either the first or second or both parts of their names in Sanskrit.

The first parts of the name are either

i) after the name of a deity—Rudra,

ii) after a name connoting victory, glory, valour, (*Jaya, Vīra, Yaśodāmā or Vijaya-sena*).

iii) After a name connoting virtue—*Satya-dāman*.

iv) —do— dominion—e.g. *Pṛthivī*, and *Viśva*.

The second part has either

(i) *dāman*, (ii) *siṁha*, (iii) sena, (iv) ghsada (or *śrī*).

Rudra as the first member of their names suggests that all these rulers at least were either devotees of Rudra, or patronized the cult of this god. Names of other deities—*Viṣṇu* for instance—are conspicuous by their absence, unless Satya, appearing twice, stands for *Viṣṇu*, one of whose epithets was Satya.[1]

The rest of the first members of the names together with the second parts show that these foreigners had adopted names which would befit their war-like profession and wanted them to be or were regarded as *Kṣatriyas*. For the suffixes *sena* and *siṁha* have been included in the works assigned to the pre-Christian era as suffixes applicable to names of *Kṣatriyas* only.

The suffix *dāman* though Sanskrit or Sanskritized is rarely met in earlier or later literature and epigraphs and seems to be part of the original *Śaka* name. Though KONOW has taken it to be a Sanskrit name, it may have been originally derived, as RAPSON[2] has pointed out, from the suffix *dames*.[3] The only Indian names which I can recall are those

[1] This epithet is supposed to be late.

[2] RAPSON, *CAA*. Introduction, p. c.

[3] *Dāman* is common in Bengali; it has given a surname in modern Bengal. Surnames of castes other than the Brahmana were mostly the second elements in compounded names, e g. *gupta, datta, āditya*, or *āica, āie, candra, canda, dhara, pālita*, etc. We have *dāman* in two forms—the Sanskrit *dāma, dām* and the proper NIA form *dā* (দা), anglicised as Dawn. S. K. C.

of *Sudāmā*, a friend of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*, and of *Kṛṣṇa* himself. If, however, the word *dāman* is Sanskrit, it must have been used in the sense of "connection with, tie with, i.e. devotee of Rudra, Satya, *Siṁha* etc.," an application of the word which seems to have died out later.

This knowledge derived from the names of *Śaka Kṣatrapas* of *Surāṣṭra* and Malwa is in general accordance with what we can gather from monuments and coins, and early literature. Though other *Brāhmaṇic* faiths were current, that of *Śiva* was the most popular and widespread. And among his names and forms Rudra and *Śiva* were most common, and the names of his son *Suviṣākha*, Skanda or *Kārttikeya*,[1] but not so much *Śambhu* or *Maheśa*. So far none of the early inscriptions, even from other parts of India, mention these names. Next came *Viṣṇu* and other Vedic gods, *Varuṇa* and *Vāsava*, and names of constellations etc. and the non-Aryan names in *Nāga* and Sarpa. Those who had embraced Buddhism or Jainism adopted names showing devotion to Buddha, or the Buddhist triad, and Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras*. And it appears that at least one of the *Kṣatrapa* rulers, the second son of *Rudrasiṁha I*, viz., *Saṅghadāman*, took to Buddhism, as the word *saṅgha* implies.

Gupta

The names of the Gupta kings, Skandagupta and others have already been commented upon showing their partiality for the war-god Skanda or *Kārttikeya*.

Traikutaka

Names of only three *Traikūṭaka* kings have been known viz., Indradatta, Dahrasena, *Vyāghrasena*. Ordinarily *datta*[2] is not a suffix which is applied to names of *Kṣatriyas*. And as this—perhaps the first member of the family—is not supposed to have ruled, it is not impossible, as suggested by the suffix, that the family was originally non-*Kṣatriya*. The name of second member, Dahrasena, does not yield a satisfactory sense. *Dahra* means ' small, fine, thin; the cavity of the heart' and when

[1] Jarl CHARPENTIER, *JRAS*, 1923. 902-05.

[2] The statement is made advisedly. For names of rulers, e.g., Bhagadatta of *Prāgjyotiṣa*, do have this suffix. But in all these cases, it is worth inquiring into the original *Varṇa* of the family.

compounded with '*agni*' is said to stand for Agastya in a former birth.[1]

Kataccuri

Each one of the names of three *Kaṭaccūri* Kings, *Kṛṣṇarāya*, *Śaṅkaragaṇa*, and Buddharaja, as the first member of their names suggests, would be a devotee of gods *Viṣṇu*, *Kṛṣṇa* and *Śiva* and Buddha respectively. Such an eclecticism in the family is not borne out by their own profession of their faith. For in their inscriptions *Kṛṣṇarāya* is said to be solely devoted to *Paśupati*. But just as in these records we get the earliest epigraphical allusions to *Pāśupata* form of *Śiva*, so it appears that in the name *Śaṅkaragaṇa* we have perhaps the first epigraphical mention of the name *Śaṅkara*.

Gurjjara

The cultural significance of the word "Dadda" appearing thrice as the name of the Gurjjara Kings of Broach and the *birudas* (titles) *Vītarāga* and *Praśāntarāga* has already been noted by me before.

The name "Dadda," "*Duddā*" or even "*Duḍḍā*" cannot be derived from any Sanskrit root like *dā*. Nor are these names found in any Sanskrit or Prakrit dictionary. But it is possible that they have been derived from the Sanskrit *Dardara*, meaning a mountain, or region having holes or ravines. Such a region and person named after it seems to be implied in the names 'Daddarapabbata' and '*Mahādaddara*' mentioned in the *Daddara Jātaka*.[2] This Daddarapabbata can be no other than the mountainous tract of Dardistan, lying to the north-west of Kashmir, and south of Little Pamir. Since the river Sindhu after rising in the Himalayas near Tibet flowed through this country, *Pāṇini* calls it *Dāradī Sindhuḥ*, while prescribing the name of a river in accordance with its source.[3] The people of this tract, Daradas, are mentioned separately along with the foreign tribes which sprang up with the Yavanas, Mlecchas and *Śakas*, from the cow *Kāmadhenu*, according to the

[1] MONIER-WILLIAMS, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, 1899, 473.

[2] Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, I, p. 1055. I am indebted to Dr. Katre for suggesting this derivation.

[3] AGRAWALA, "Geographical Data in *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī*", *JUPHS*, 16.1.19.

Mahābhārata, (a passage which is included in the *Critical Edition*[1]), when she was being forcibly driven away from *Vaśiṣṭha's āśrama* by *Viśvāmitra*. The derivation of the words "Dadda" etc. from a Sanskrit *Darda*, if accepted, will fit in well with the theory of the foreign origin of the Gurjjaras. The latter might signify their nomadic habits and profession, the former, Daradas or Dadda, their original habitat.

Philologically there is nothing strange in the epithets *Vītarāga* and *Praśāntarāga*. These are perfect Sanskrit expressions. But their use in ordinary parlance is so rare, while with the Jains they are commonly applied to their *Tīrthaṅkaras* and others highly spiritual souls, that I am tempted to suggest that these epithets perhaps reveal the patronage of Jainism by these early Gurjjara kings. From early times we know that this religion flourished at Broach but these epithets, interpreted in this way, show incidentally its prevalence in and around Broach during this period.

Calukyas

In the names and epithets of *Cālukya* Kings of *Navasārikā*, I would note the use of the word *āśraya* (*Dharāśraya*), *Jayāśraya* for the usual word *dhara*. They seem to have introduced this word and made their own as part of the epithet.

Cahamana

The solitary inscription of the *Cāhamānas* of Broach gives six names, five of which deserve notice. In *Maheśvara* and *Hara-dāman* we get the well-known epithets of *Śiva*. *Dhruvabhaṭadeva* reminds us of a similar name among the Maitrakas of *Valabhī*, and both *bhartṛ* in *Bhartṛvaḍḍha* and *dāman* recall similar first member and the suffix among the *Śakas* of *Surāṣṭra* and Malwa. Do these affinities in names point to the former common origin of these families of Western India, as it has been already suggested on other grounds?

Rastrakuta

No trace of this foreign element is seen in the names of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* kings of the Deccan and *Karṇāṭaka* which ruled over Gujarat

[1] Adi Parva, adhyaya 175.

for nearly 400 years. Some members of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* family bore names and epithets such *Naṇṇa, Boḍḍiga, Khoṭṭiga* which shows the Kannada influence, either due to their long contact with *Karṇāṭaka* or because they were partly or wholly of Kannada origin.

Only one member—*Saṅkaragaṇa*—bears a *Saiva* name, while the names Indra, *Kṛṣṇa* and Govinda are repeated three or four times. In this of course the custom, prescribed by the *Sāstras* of naming a child after the forefather's name was followed. I shall deal with it in detail later. The *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* may also be credited with giving us the names or epithets ending in *varṣa* (*Amoghavarṣa, Akālavarṣa*), then the names beginning with Danti (*Dantivarmā*, which remind us of Dantavaktra of the *Mahābhārata*) and Karka or Kakka. The last might be a *nakṣatra* name. Whether they have anything to do with the *Kannaḍa* contact or not, and how far these names have left their mark on the culture of the region I cannot say. Among the names of rulers of India, ancient and early mediaeval, they seem to be unique and appear to have been given currency for the first time. None of the other *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* families, ruling over parts of Central and Northern India have the names in *varṣa*, though once the name *Karkarāja*, and names beginning with Nanna are found.[1] In spite of dynastic individualities, the names fall into patterns such as *sena, simha, deva, āditya, gupta, rāja, varddhana, pāla*, to which the names of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* and one or two other dynasties form an exception. If they (the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* names) have influenced the subsequent culture, it may be discovered by studying the names of present *Karṇāṭakīs* (*Kannaḍigas*).

Of the names of the few *Paramāra* kings, one has the name or *biruda Vākpati*, showing that much before his famous descendant Bhoja, one of the rulers of Malwa had this name, either because he was a literati, or patron of learning, a quality which descended through his family and burst forth in a blaze of light through Bhoja, or *Vākpati* Munja.

Lata Calukya

Of the six rulers of the *Lāṭa Cāḷukya* family, five have the suffix *rāja*, and one *pāla*, whereas the names *Bārappa* and Goggi, are not

[1] See BHANDARKAR, "Genealogical Lists of Various Dynasties Inscriptions of Northern India," *EI*, XIX to XXIII, Appendix, 401-3. and SEWELL and AIYANGAR, *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.*

Sanskrit and may yield some information on the original habitat or early family relations of this dynasty.

Maitraka

The names of the Maitraka dynasty of *Valabhī* show that the family used the suffixes *sena*, *siṁha*, and *āditya*, and once or twice *bhaṭṭa* and *graha*, of which *āditya* is the most common. Has it anything to do with the popular tradition that *Valabhī* rulers were worshippers of the Sun, and had a *yajñakuṇḍa*, which was defiled and hence the family perished? Of course their epigraphs declare openly one king, *Dharapaṭṭa* (*bhaṭṭa*?) as a devotee of the Sun.

Capa

I would note only two names of the small feudatory family of the *Cāpas* at Wadhwan. While the inscription calls them *Cāpas*, the names *Pulakeśi* which is definitely *Kannaḍa* and *Dharaṇivarāha* recall the famous *Pulakeśis* of the *Karnāṭaka Cālukyas* and their crest, the *Varāha*. One wonders if this family was connected in any way with the *Cālukyas*!

Caulukya

Lastly we come to the Caulukyas or *Solaṅkis*. For three generations the suffix *rāja*, common to contemporary Rajputana dynasties, is current; then comes *deva*. The son and descendants of *Tribhuvanapāla* have the suffix *pāla*, whereas only *Jayasiṁha* has the suffix *siṁha*.

Four names of the subsequent branch line called popularly *Vāghela* has the suffix *deva*, and one or two have *malla*. The names proper are ordinary having nothing unusual about them, excepting *Sāraṅga-deva*. This name, as one of the epigraphs shows, can be explained owing to the spread of *Kṛṣṇa* cult in Gujarat.

Names of Ordinary People

A study of the personal names of kings has contributed certain information on the forms of religions prevailing at different periods in ancient and early mediaeval Gujarat. Further information can be had on these points from the study of the names of ordinary persons. These are usually donees, at times persons who are commemorated. However with the exception of the few early *Kṣatrapa* and later Caulu-

kya inscriptions, the inscriptions of the intermediate rulers—beginning with the *Traikūṭaka* and ending with the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Paramāra* in Gujarat proper and with the Maitrakas in Kathiawar—mention no one but the *Brāhmaṇas* and the writers and conveyors (*Dūtakas*) of the grant. We thus get only a glimpse of the culture of two members —*Brāhmaṇas* and the writer class—of the society.

In the Caulukya inscriptions *Brāhmaṇas* figure less prominently; others, particularly the *Vaiśyas* dominate the field.

Ksatrapa Inscriptions

The few *Kṣatrapa* inscriptions give still fewer names of people. The earliest among them from Andhau in Cutch as well as the later show that endings *-ila* and *deva, siṁha* and *bhūti, data* (or f. *datā*) were common in western India as they were in the Deccan. Perhaps it would not be wrong to say that these were some of the name-endings in whole India during the early centuries of the Christian era.

Among the names proper we find *Siṁhila*, Madana, *Jeṣṭavīrā, Yaśa, Treṣa* (*Triṣṭa*), *Ṛṣabha, Bāpaka*, Rudra, *Pratāśaka* and Kharapattha. Of these *Jyeṣṭha*, and Rudra might be after the corresponding *nakṣatras. Ṛṣabha* was one of the favourite names at this period, but whether it has anything to do with the first *Tīrthaṁkara* of the Jainas, it is difficult to say. *Bāpaka* and its variant Bappaka often occur in later inscriptions. These are said to be terms of endearments, according to Dr. KATRE and with slight variations are found in all the Indo-European languages. The *Gujarātī 'Bāpā'* for 'father' is perhaps directly derived from Bappaka. The last two names, *Pratāśaka* and Kharapattha, I cannot explain at present.

Who were these inhabitants of Cutch and Kathiawad? Sihila and his two sons Madana, and *Ṛṣabhadeva* and sister *Jyeṣṭhavirā* are said to be of Opasati gotra which might be perhaps the same as Aupasava or Aupasivi, who are said to belong to the *Bhāradvāja* family or group.[1] If so, the family might be a *Brāhmaṇa*. But Madana's wife *Yaśodattā*, who is called a *Śramaṇerī*, came from *Śreṇika gotra*. This and her father's name *Sīhamitra* seem to suggest that this family was *Kṣatriya*.

[1] See RAO, *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambakam* (*GPNK*) (Govt. Oriental Library Series, Mysore, 1900), 57 and 162 respectively.

Senāpatis Bāpaka and Rudrabhuti were *Ābhiras* originally but gradually by their martial profession must have come to be known as *Kṣatriyas*. *Pratāśaka* and his son Kharapattha claim *Mānasa gotra*. I cannot trace this in any published lists of *Brāhmaṇa* gotras.

No positive clues are given for judging the religion of these people. *Yaśodattā*, since she is called a *Śramaṇerī*, might have been a convert to Buddhism.

Names of Brahmanas

The *Traikūṭaka* and other later epigraphs mention:—

(i) the name of the *Brāhmaṇa* donee;
(ii) the Veda or its sub-branch professed by the donee;
(iii) the *gotra* of the donee,
(iv) the place whence he came (before he settled down on the plot of land or village granted to him).
(v) the place where he was actually staying when the grant was made.

From the first we should know:—

(a) the types of names that a *Brāhmaṇa* took at that period and how far it was in accordance with the injunctions of the *Śāstras*,
(b) the prevailing religious tendencies,
(c) some geographical and other information, if the names were after places, etc.

The remaining four items should tell us what kinds of *Brāhmaṇas* had come and settled or were newly settling down in *Guṇarāt*. In particular what Veda or Vedas they followed, and what their *gotras* were. And instructive should be the knowledge about the *Brāhmaṇa gotras*. For these, though originally 4 according to the *Mahābhārata*, or 8 according to *Śrauta* and *Dharmasūtras* and a little later 18, had multiplied into thousands according to *Baudhāyana*. But a comparison between the epigraphic and literary material—*Dharmaśāstras*, *Nibandhakāras* and others, as has been already observed by KANE[1] might lead to some useful results.

Starting with the *Traikūṭaka* plates, when we for the first time get actual names of *Brāhmaṇa* donees, we find that in one instance the *upapada*

[1] *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, i. 494.

'*svāmi*', is affixed to the name *Naṇṇa*, in the other *śarma* to *Nāga*.

In the succeeding *Kaṭaccūri* plates, the suffix '*svāmi*' is applied to Bodha and Bappa. And the one plate of *Saṁgamasiṁha* has '*datta*' and '*śarmma*' joined to *Ananta* and *Prajāpati* respectively.

The Gurjjara plates give the following names proper and suffixes.[1]

First Member of the Name

Āditya (4)	Indra (2)
Agni (2)	*Īśvara* (3)
Bhāgi (2)	Karkka (1)
Bhaṭṭa (2)	*Mādhava* (1)
Bhaṭṭi (6)	*Mahādeva* (1)
Bhadra (1)	Mahidhara (2)
Dharma (1)	*Mātri* (1)
Dāma (1)	Nandi
Dhara (1)	*Pitṛ*
Droṇa (3)	*Rāma*
Dāmodara (1)	Rudra
Datta (1)	*Śaila*
Deva (1)	*Tāpī*
Ghoṣa (1)	*Vaṭa*
Gopa (1)	*Vāyu*
Govinda (2)	*Viśākha.*

Upapada (or Suffix)[2]

Āditya	*Gaṇa*
Bhaṭa	*Nāga*
Dāma	Ravi *
Deva	*Śarmma*
Dhara	*Sūra*
	Svāmi *

In this list we can easily recognise names such as *Āditya*, Agni, Indra, Karkka, Rudra, *Viśākha*, *Vāyu* (?) as names of deities connected with *nakṣatras*. We may call them *Nakṣatra* names.

[1] The number in brackets indicates the number of times the name occurs.

[2] Except those marked with an *, the rest are surnames in Bengal. S. K. C.

Names directly after deities are Dharma, Datta, Deva, *Dāmodara*, Govinda, *Īśvara*, *Mahādeva*, Nandi, and *Rāma*, representing Yama, *Viṣṇu*, (*Kṛṣṇa*), *Śiva* and *Rāma*. This shows that by the 7th century at the latest *Brāhmaṇas* had brought into use names of deities not connected with any *Nakṣatra*, but *Purāṇic* deities, who were probably their family-gods.

Droṇa and *Pitṛ* may be names after *gotra* and ancestors respectively.

The name Mahidhara for a *Brāhmaṇa*, suggesting power and suzerainty and hence fit for a *Kṣatriya*, is remarkable. One wonders if the name beginning with *Tāpī* is after the river *Tāpī*[1] (*Tāpti*).

Among suffixes besides *śarmma*, *svāmi* had already come to be applied to *Brāhmaṇa* names from the Gupta period onwards. But now we find 9 more, in which the occurrence of *dāma*, found in *Kṣatraṭa* names, may be noted. Another suffix which draws our attention at this period is *bhaṭa* or *bhaṭṭa*, denoting, at this period probably, martial or scholarly traits, but now in Bombay usually a Brahmin of cook class.

In Gurjjara epigraphs the names of *Brāhmaṇas* have the following suffixes (which are mentioned in alphabetical order).[2]

* °*Āditya*	°Illa (?)
°*Bhaṭa*	* °*Nāga*
* °*Dāma*	°Ravi
* °Deva	°*Śarmmā*
* °Dhara	* °*Sūra*
* °*Gaṇa*	°*Svāmi*

Bhaṭa or *Bhaṭṭa* which is one of the suffixes is also found in some cases as a prefix. And that is the only known instance of a prefix. Thus we have *Bhaṭṭa*-Govinda, -Mahidhara, -*Mādhava*, -*Nārāyaṇa*, etc.

The suffixes are appended to names such as

Gopa-	*āditya*	*Mātr-bhaṭa*	*Bhaṭṭi-dāma*
Rudra-			
		Bhaṭṭi-gaṇa	*Āditya-nāga*

[1] Which as suggested by Dr. CHATTERJI, should have been derived from "Tapati".

[2] Those marked with an asterik (*) feature as non-Brahmin surnames in Bengal. Originally, they were the second elements of personal names; then certain families made a point of using certain elements regularly for a number of generations, and then these crystallised into surnames. S. K. C.

Dāmo
Dharma - dhara
Īśvara
Mahī

Āditya-ravi — *Āditya* - *śarmmā* — *Indra-sūra.*

Agni -
Indra -
Pitṛ -
Tāpī -
Vaṭa -
Vāyu -

Bhāgī -
Deva -
Datta -
Droṇa -
Puṛṇṇa - *svāmī*

There are a few names which have no suffixes. These are:—Bhadra, *Bhaṭṭi*, *Droṇa*, *Ghoṣa*, *Īśvara*, Nandi, *Rāma*, *Sūryya*, *Viśākha*, besides Abuka, Avuka, Bava or (Bhava ?), Gilaka, Karkka, Narmma, *Saila*, *Vāḍa*, Vatra (?).

In the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* period the following are names among which some can be recognised as *nakṣatra* and names after other deities.

Nakṣatra Names[1]

Āditya (3)	Revi (Ravi ?)
Agni (3)	Soma
Bhānu (2)	

Names after Deities

Ananta *Viṣṇu*	*Nāga*
Caṇḍi (?)	*Narasiṁha*
Dāmodara	*Keśava*
Datta (?)	*Kṛṣṇa*
Govinda	*Kukkeśvara*
Guheśvara	*Lakūṭi*

[1] These are called *Nakṣatra* names on the basis of the practice mentioned on page 101.

Īśvara	Sarvvadeva
Mādhava	Trivikrama
Mahādeva	*Viṣṇu*
Maheśvara	*Viṭṭhala*
Mātṛ	Yoga.

The list at a glance shows, in spite of the limited nature of the evidence, how the fashion for naming after *Purāṇic* or family deities was gaining ground and the old rule, as old as the *Taittīrya Saṁhitā*, was gradually declining.

Among the names of *Viṣṇu* we now find *Dāmodara*, Govinda, *Mādhava*, *Keśava*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Narasiṁha*, *Viṣṇu*, *Viṭṭhala* and Yoga. Perhaps this is the earliest occurrence of the name *Viṭṭhala*, a name of *Viṣṇu* (< *Viṭṭhu—Viṭṭhala*)[1] which has become very popular in *Mahārāṣṭra*, and among the devotees of Vallabha *Saṁpradāya*, but which seems to be non-Sanskritic and *Kannaḍa* in origin.

There is a fairly large number of names of *Śiva*, including *Guheśvara*, *Īśvara*, *Mahādeva*, *Maheśvara*, *Kukkeśvara* and *Lakuṭi*, the last being one of the special forms of *Śiva*.

Besides these names, after deities, there are a number of names, such as *Ḍhoḍṭhi*, *Durggabhaṭṭa*, Jajjuka, Jojjibha, Lalla, Nema, Nena, Naina, Reyyaiya, all of which I cannot explain just now. Some of them seem to be *Kannaḍa*, as they should be, as some of the *Brāhmaṇas* are from *Karṇāṭaka*.

The suffixes of this period also reflect the new tendencies. In the following list:—

Āditya, *Āryya*, *Bhaṭṭa*, *Caturvedī*, *Dvivedī*, Deva, *Dīkṣita*, *Īṣvara*
Kumāra (?), *Śarmma*, *Sara*, Sena, *Sura*, *Svāmi*, Yamma, *Iyya*,

we find suffixes such as *Caturvedī*, *Dvivedī*, *Dīkṣita*, for the first time.[2] Becoming common, they in the 20th century have been utilized as surnames by *Brāhmaṇas*; *sena* as a *Brāhmaṇa*-suffix is rare, but is found before in a *Kaṭaccūri* record from Gujarat. Others like °*yya* (>*ārya* ?) seem to be purely *Kannaḍa* suffixes.

[1] S. K. C.

[2] The Kannada and even the Marathi practice of taking the place-name as surname has been traced by Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR (*IA*, XLI (1912) 72) to a grant of *Pulakeśin* II (circa. 630 A. D.), where "Umberkheda" is said to be the *kulanāma* of a (Brahmana) *Jyeṣṭhaśarmā*, of Tagara.

Another new feature, at this period, is the use of the prefix *Bhaṭṭa* to names. Denoting a scholar—as the word professor is now used—it later became a surname, just as the English word 'Master' has been becoming in *Gujarātī*-speaking people and 'professor' might become among the Marathi-speaking people.

Contrary to the injunction of one of the *Gṛhya Sūtras* we find that there are a few names which are directly after the deities, and not derived from *nakṣatras*.

The names from the plates of the Maitrakas of *Valabhī* have been arranged in the following groups:

Nakṣatra Names	*Names after Purāṇic or Family Deities*		
Aditya	*Dāmodara*	*Guhatrāta*	*Nārāyaṇa*
Agni	*Bhāva*	*Īśvara*	*Piṭṭaleśvara*
Bhānu (?)	Buddha	Madana	Rudra
Candra (?)	Candra	*Maheśvara*	*Sāṁba*
Mitra (?)	Datta	*Mātṛ*	*Saṣṭhi*
Viśākha	Deva	Mitra (?)	Skanda
			Śrīdhara
			Viṣṇu,
			Yajña.

Kṣatriya or Vaiśya type of Names		*Other Names*
Bappa	Anahila	Guhila
Bhaṭṭi	*Guhāḍhya*	Kikkaka
Damā	*Chacchārya*	*Naḍhulla*
Kumāra	Gillaka	*Naṇṇa*
Madava (?)	Goggaka	*Saggaḍa*
Siha		*Vatrabhaṭṭi*

Once again, though at least two centuries earlier, we find that there are fewer instances of names after *nakṣatras*. Names after other deities are more. But among these the names of *Śiva* and *Viṣṇu* are less than those in the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* period.

Among names, other than those after deities, we have to note *Kṣatriya* type of names such as *Bhaṭṭi*, *Dāma*, *Kumāra*, Siha, and a number of non-Sanskritic names like—Gillaka, Goggaka, Kikkaka, *Saggaḍa*. One wonders if these are in any way connected with the *Śaka* and other foreign elements in Western Gujarat. 'Bappa' as a *Brāhmaṇa* name has now been found to occur in all the three dynasties. What is it?[1]

Whereas 'Mitra' occurs for the first time during this period, Skanda which was a popular name in the early Christian era, sometimes compounded with *Nāga*—is found compounded with *trāta*, *vasu* and *bhaṭa*, and occurs in the name of a *Brāhmaṇa* donee as well as a scribe.

If the list of names proper is large, and different from the orthodox ones, the list of suffixes is indeed formidable. The undermentioned list includes no less than 21 suffixes.

1.° *ārya*	11.° illa
2.° *bhaṭa*	12.° *īśvara*
3.° *bhaṭṭi*	13.° kula
4.° bhava	14.° *kumāra*
5.° bhadra	15.° mitra
6.° *bhūti*	16.° ravi
7.° datta	17.° *śarmman*
8.° *ghoṣa*	18.° *svāmin*
9.° gopa	19.° *trāta*
10.° guha	20.° vasu
10a.° gupta	21.° *yaśa*.

This would show that gone were the days when *śarmma* was supposed to be the only or one of the few suffixes applied to names of *Brāhmaṇas*. Liberal interpretation was put upon Manu's dictum that a *Brāhmaṇa* name should have an *upapada* indicating happiness or blessing. The suffixes above listed include those indicating happiness (*bhadra*), wealth or prosperity (*bhūti*, *vasu*), fame (*yaśa*), protection (*gopa*, *trāta*), and others, showing that no hard and fast distinction prevailed between the suffixes to be applied to *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya* or *Vaiśya* names.

[1] According to Dr. CHATTERJI, NIA *Bappa*=*Bāp* (father).

Their Significance

Do these suffixes point to a general mix-up and slackness in the observance of *śāstric* rules or as has been argued by Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR the second part—the name ending—of a name is not necessarily a suffix, but represented in certain cases. e.g. in the case of *Nāgara Brāhmaṇas*, the names of families or tribes which were incorporated into the (*Nāgara*) *Brāhmaṇa* caste.[1] It would be therefore interesting to compare our data and see how far Dr. BHANDARKAR's conclusion is right.

Bhandarkar's Theory

BHANDARKAR'S theory is based on the fact that three manuscripts of *Pravarādhyāya*, one of which is dated in *Saṁvat* 1788, *Vaiśākha Suda* 8, Bhrigu, give a list of 13 *śarmans*, which were in use among the *Nāgara Brāhmaṇas*, in or before *Saṁvat* 1283.

These *śarmans* are :— bhava, *bhūta*, *dāsa*, datta, deva, *ghoṣa*, gupta, mitra, nanda, *nāga śarma*, *trāta*, varma.

The *Brāhmaṇas* having the suffixes *mitra* and *trāta* belong to the *Śārkarākṣaya* and *Gārgya* gotras respectively. All these are supposed to be *Nāgaras*.

Now from *Valabhī* plates he collected instances where the *Brāhmaṇas* had these *gotras* and *śarmans*, and belonged to *Ānartapura* or *Ānandapura*, a place which he definitely identified with *Vaḍnagar*, the home of the present-day *Nāgaras*.

Because of this close correspondence between the MS. data about *Nāgaras*, and the inscriptional data, he concluded that "the *Nāgar Brāhmaṇas* appear first in the time of the *Valabhī* princes and that the '*śarmans*' that are now, were even then current amongst them."

He further showed that 10 of these *Nāgar Śarmans* were found as family names among *Kāyasthas* in Bengal[2] corresponding to Datta, Gupta, Mitra and Deb. Mitra, Varma and Gupta, again, are known to be names of royal families which flourished in Eastern India, say, from 100 B. C. to 600 A. D.

[1] BHANDARKAR, "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population," *IA.* 40 (1911), 33.

[2] According to Dr. CHATTERJI, others are found in their *tadbhava* forms, but these are not necessarily *Kāyastha* surnames.

Coupled with this the custom observed by the *Nāgaras* while performing religious ceremonies to add *trāta, gupta* etc. to their name, e.g. Bhagvanlal *trāta*, he held that these thirteen *śarmans* were not mere suffixes, but at least 10 of them represented the names of families or tribes that were incorporated in the *Nāgar Brāhmaṇa* caste. And that "this seems to point to a racial identity or affinity between the *Kāyasthas* of Bengal and *Nāgar Brāhmaṇas* of Bombay Gujarat."

This is indeed a very important finding about the ethnological affinities of peoples in Gujarat. How far is it right in view of our exhaustive study of *Brāhmaṇa* suffixes in early Gujarat?

Its Refutation

It is evident that BHANDARKAR had not collected all the suffixes from *Valabhī* plates. He had examined only a few plates. In our list only 9 out of the 13 so-called *Nāgara* suffixes are found. These are *bhava, bhūti, datta, ghoṣa, gopa*, (if for *gupta*), *mitra, śarman*, and *trāta*; the missing ones are *dāsa, nanda, nāga, varma* and even *deva*. And if *bhūti* and *gopa* do not stand for *bhūta* and *gupta* respectively —then two more—in all seven missing *śarmans*.

Of the remaining six, *śarman* is a recognised *Brāhmaṇa* suffix, and so also is *datta* (e.g. *Yajñadatta* etc. as stock examples), whereas *deva, nāga* and *śarmma* in Gurjjara and *deva* and *śarman* occur in *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* plates. But earlier still in the inscriptions of the Deccan the suxffies *bhūti, dāsa, datta, deva, gopa, ghoṣa, gupta, śarman* and *varman* were added to names. Of course we cannot say that these were used by *Brāhmaṇas* only. However these data from early and pre-Maitraka inscriptions of Gujarat show that a number of suffixes regarded by BHANDARKAR as *Nāgar* suffixes were current among *Brāhmaṇas* and others who were not from *Ānandapura*. Only *bhava, ghoṣa, mitra, trāta*, seem to be peculiar to Maitraka *Brāhmaṇas*. Of these, only two, *ghoṣa* and *mitra*, can be compared with similar family names in Bengal,[1] while *ghoṣa* occurs as the name proper in a Gurjjara plate.

This detailed discussion of the comparative epigraphical data should show that BHANDARKAR is not right in regarding the suffixes occurring in the *Valabhī* plates as definitely *Nāgar S'armans*. For out of the thirteen

[1] *Trāta* survives in a rather rare *Kāyastha* surname *tā* (ता).

only two can be regarded as such, others being found among other *Brāhmaṇas*, and other people of the earlier period, whereas six *śarmans* from the list of 13 do not occur among the suffixes collected from Maitraka plates, the most important among the missing suffixes being *dāsa*, *gupta*, (?), *nandi* and *varman*.

Thus the *Nāgara* ethnic relationship with Bengal *Kāyasthas*, on the evidence of *śarmans* alone, seems to be untenable with regard to the MS list. It seems that the writer collected all the then existing *śarmans* among the *Nāgar Brāhmaṇas*, which has been accumulating for centuries as shown above and some (most) of which were used by other *Brāhmaṇas* as well.

With regard to the argument about the connection of Maitraka *Brāhmaṇas* with *Ānandapura*, out of about 125 *Brāhmaṇas* listed above, only 15 bear connection with *Ānandapura*. These have the following *gotras* and suffixes:—

mitra	*Śārkarākṣya*	*Ṛg*	*Ānandapura* or *Ānar-*
guha	*Bhāradvāja*	*Sāma*	*tāpura*.
trāta	,,	*Sāma*	
mitra	*Śārkarākṣi*	*Ṛg*	
datta	*Gārgya*	Yaj.	
ghoṣa	*Kauśaravasa*[1]	Atharva	
gopa	,,	,,	

In all six suffixes; *mitra* is connected with *Śārkarākṣya gotra* and *Ṛgveda*, *guha* and *trāta* with *Bhāradvāja* and *Sāma*, *datta* with *Gārgya* and Yajus, and *ghoṣa* and *gopa* with *Kauśaravasa* and Atharvaveda. Thus even if we confine our inquiry only to these *Brāhmaṇas* connected with *Ānandapura*, we cannot say that all of them must have been *Nāgaras*. For *Brāhmaṇas* having similar or other *gotra* and Veda and even the suffix *datta* and *mitra* are found among *Brāhmaṇas* connected with other places. So in the absence of stronger evidence it may be said that these 15 *Brāhmaṇas* might not all have been *Nāgaras*.

Gotras and Vedic Sakhas of Brahmanas

Who were these *Brāhmaṇas*, to what *gotras* (families) and Vedic *śākhās* did they belong? A consideration of their names and name-

[1] No such gotra found in the *GPNK*. There is however a gotra called *Keśaravaya*.

endings has brought out, to a certain extent, the religious and social conditions of the time which had influenced them. Further consideration of the items mentioned above, viz. the *gotra* and Veda and the *vāstavya* and *vinirgata* of the donee should tell us what different kinds of *Brāhmaṇas* had come and settled or were newly settling down giving rise to *Brāhmaṇa* colonies in Gujarat and which of them belonged to the original 4 or 18 *gotras*, and which *śākhās* of the four Vedas were followed. When and if this information could be compared with similar data collected by a survey of the present-day *Brāhmaṇa* communities,[1] light can be thrown on the antiquity, migration etc. of the *Brāhmaṇa* population of Gujarat.

I would however confine myself to a study of the inscriptional data leaving the collection of the present-day material and its co-ordination with the former (inscriptional) to a student of Sociology.

It is indeed a pity that the earliest epigraphs which refer to *Brāhmaṇas* in Gujarat supply very few details about them.

Inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C.—2nd century A. D. of the *Sātavāhanas*, *Kṣaharātas* and *Kṣatrapas* speak of munificent donations to *Brāhmaṇas* at Daman, on the *Tāpī* and the *Banās*, at *Prabhās* and *Junāgaḍh*, implying thereby the existence of a flourishing *Brāhmaṇa* community practically throughout the whole of Gujarat-Kathiawar, as these places represent *Lāṭa*, Northern Gujarat and *Surāṣṭra*. Of course the community may have colonized in pockets at these religious centres, and may not have penetrated the interior, still its existence in fairly large numbers cannot be denied. How we wish we knew the details—at least the *gotra* and Veda of these *Brāhmaṇas!*

Three hundred years later the *Traikūṭaka* inscription is almost of a similar nature. It tells only the name, *gotra* and the place of residence (*vāstavya*) of the donee. Thus we know that at *Kāpura*, a place probably in the *Navasāri Mahāl* of the *prānt* of the same name in the Baroda State, lived a *Brāhmaṇa*, named *Naṇṇasvāmi* of the *Bhāradvāja gotra*.

The *Brāhmaṇas* whom the Gurjjaras of *Nāndipurī* patronized were of the following *gotras*:

[1] As has been done by Dr. APTE and Dr. WAGH of the Deccan College Research Institute for two Maharastra sub-castes, viz. the *Mādhyandina* and the *Deśastha Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas* under Dr. KARVE of the Sociology Department.

Bhāradvāja, Cauli, *Dauṇḍakīya*, *Dhūmrāyaṇa*, *Hārīta*,[1] *Kāśyapa*, *Kauṇḍinaya*, *Kauśika*, *Lakṣmaṇa*, (*Lakśmaṇeya* ?), *Māthara*,[2] *Śrāvayaṇa*,[3] Vatsa, *Vaśiṣṭha*.

Out of about 10 families of *Bhāradvājas*, 4 belonged to *Kāṇva Śākhā* of the Yajurveda, and were settled in Jambusara, one family had come from *Daśapura* (Mandasor) and lived at *Kṣīrasara* in Gujarat. The remaining 5 families belonged to the *Kauthūma Śākhā* of the *Sāma* Veda and had settled at *Śirīṣapadraka* having gone there from Jambusara.

All the five families of the Caulis were *Ātharvaṇas* of the *Pippalāda Śākhā* and had colonised at Bherajjika from Bharukaccha.

The *Dauṇḍakiyas*, about 11 families, were, it appears all of the *Vājasaneya Kāṇva Śākhā* of the Yajurveda and having contacts with *Śirīṣapadraka* and Jambusara. The same was true of the two families of the *Dhūmrāyaṇas*

Of the *Hārīta gotra* and *Vājasaneya Kāṇva Śākhā* we have a single family from *Śirīṣapadraka*-Jambusara.

Of the 4 *Kāśyapas*, two practised the *Ṛgveda*; of these two, one belonged to *Āśvalāyaṇa-caraṇa* and belonged to *Śirīṣpaadraka*-Jambusara; the other had come from Ahicchatra in U.P. The remaining two were *Kāṇvas* and from *Śirīṣapadraka*-Jambusara.

The *Kauṇḍinyas*, about 6 families, were, it appears, *Mādhyandina Kāṇvas*, and excepting two who were from *Lohikākśa*, all from *Śirīṣapadraka*-Jambusara.

A solitary family of the *Kauśikas*, *Sāmavedīya*, is said to belong to *Kānyakubja* (Kanoj). But this grant is proved to be forged.

The three *Lakṣmaṇīyas* were *Kāṇvas* and from Jambusara.

The *Mātharas*, about 5 families, also practised the *Kāṇva Śākhā* and belonged to *Śirīṣapadraka*-Jambusara.

The one family of *Śrāvayaṇa* belonged to *Mādhyandina Śākhā*, had come from Girinagara and settled at *Śraddhikā-agrahāra*.

Of the 14 families of the Vatsa *gotra*, though all were from *Śirīṣapadraka*-Jambusara, at least half were *Ṛgvedīs* of the *Āśvalāyaṇa-caraṇa* and the rest *Kāṇvas*.

[1] Not mentioned in *GPNK*.

[2] *GPNK* does not mention this. There are however *Hārita* and Haritayana.

[3] Does not occur in *GPNK*.

The *Ṛgvedī Vāśiṣṭha* family from *Kāṇyakubja* had no genuine title of the land they professed to claim under the Gurjjaras.

The above detailed survey of the *Brāhmaṇas* for over a 100 years in the 7th-8th century shows that members of the *Bhāradvāja*, *Dauṇḍikya-Kauṇḍiṇya* and Vatsa gotras were almost in equal number, and predominated over other groups. That of all the Vedic *S'ākhās* the *Kāṇva* (*Mādhyandina*) *śākha* was professed by the majority, then came a few families who were *Rgvedīs*; two of these—*Kāśyapas* and Vatsas—are found among Yajurvedins; among the *Bhāradvājiyas* were both *Mādhyandina Yajurvedīs* and Kauthumiya-*Sāmavedīs*, whereas the Caulis only were *Atharvavedīs*. With the exception of three or four families, which had emigrated from Girinagara in *Saurāṣṭra*, from *Daśapura* (Malwa) and Ahicchatra (U.P.), all the rest, *Ṛg*, *Sāma*, Yajur and *Atharvavedīs*, were inhabitants of Jambusara or of the country round about Broach.

We must see how many of these families are found in these regions nowadays; secondly what is the relation of these families and their Vedic *S'ākhās* to what we know from literature about the origin and spread of *Brāhmaṇa* sub-castes.

Table showing the Relation between the Vedic Sakha and Gotra and Provenance of Brahmanas mentioned in Gurjjara Inscriptions.

ṚGVEDA

Āśvalāyana Caraṇa	General
Kāśyapa (*S'irīṣapadra*-Jambusara).	*Kāśyapa* (Ahicchatra)
Vatsa —do—	
Vaśiṣṭha (*Kāṇyakubja*?)	

SĀMAVEDA

Kauthuma *S'ākhā*	General
Bhāradvāja (*S'irīṣapadraka- Jambusara.*)	*Kauśika* (*Kāṇyakubja*?)

ATHARVAVEDA

|

Pippalāda
Cauli.

YAJURVEDA

| | | |

Kāṇva		*Vāja.Mādh.*	General
Bhāradvāja		*Bhāradvāja*	(*Kṣīrasara-*
(*Sirīṣapadra-Jambusara*).			*Daśapura.*)
Dauṇḍakiya	,,		
Dhūmrāyāṇa	,,		
Hārīta	,,		
Kāśyapa	,,		
Kauṇḍinya	,,	and *Lohikākṣa*)	
Lakṣmaṇya	,,		
*Māthara** (*Māṭhara?*)	,,		
Vatsa	,,		

In the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* inscriptions, found in and dealing with Gujarat, the *Brāhmaṇas* of the following *gotras* are found:

Āgneyasamāna (*Āgniśarmāyaṇa?*), *Bhāradvāja*, Gautama, *Kātyāyana*, *Kauśa*, *Kauśikī* (*Kauśika ?*), *Kauṇḍina* (*Kauṇḍinya ?*), *Lākṣayaṇa*, *Lakṣmaṇa*, *Lāvāṇa* (*Lāvaṇi?*), *Māṭhara*, Mudgala, *Parāśara*, *Sāṇḍilya*, *Saundāna*,[1] *Vaḍḍamukha*,[1] *Vārṣṇeya*, Vatsa, *Vātsyāyana*, Yaugana.[2]

A comparison with the list from Gurjjara plates shows that not only is this list larger but it has names which are not found in the former and also *vice versa*. Can this be explained away on the ground that the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* commanded a much larger empire, and hence drew *Brāhmaṇas* of various *gotras*? But this simple explanation does not account for the non-mention of at least 7 *gotras* which are found in the Gurjjara list. Has it anything to do with the patronage of certain *gotras* because either they were from the same country as the rulers,

[1] Not mentioned in *GPNK*. The reading seems to be wrong.

[2] Not mentioned in *GPNK*. It has however *Yaugandharāyaṇa*.

or because they were the earlier settlers or belonged to the older or newer groups, might be explained by further investigations.

The *Āgneyasamānas*—six families—were *Mādhyandinas* and resided at *Govaṭṭana*.

The *Bhāradvājas* number 18 in all, but since this includes the separate references to sons and fathers, the number would be really 10 or so. These fall into 3 groups. The first group of three families is *Ṛgvedī* and had emigrated from *Karhāḍ* (*a*). The second group of three to four families belonged to the *Taittirīya Śākhā* of the Yajurveda and came from *Bādāvi* (*Karnāṭaka*), Tigawi and Vengi. The last group was of the *Mādhyandinas* and lived at *Govaṭṭana*, identified with Kotna,[1] a few miles south-west of Baroda.

The four *Gautamīyas* were of *Mādhyandina Śākhā* and hailed from *Govaṭṭana*, so also the three families of the *Kātyāyanas* and *Kauśas*.

A solitary family of the *Kauśikas*, following the *Kāṇva Śākhā* is said to have come from *Puṇḍravarddhana* in Bengal.

A family of *Kuṇḍinas*, who are merely said to be Adhvaryus, i. e. *Yajurvedīs*, lived at *Variāvi* near Surat.

Similarly a family of *Lākṣayaṇas*, also *Yajurvedīs*, lived at Bhadrapali, while two families of *Lakṣmaṇa gotras* and *Mādhyandinas*, one of which had come from *Pāṭaliputra* (Bihar), lived at Tenna (Ten) and Umbara, both in the *Bārdoli* Taluka, Surat District.

The three families of *Lāvāṇas*, all *Mādhyandinas* lived at Baddarasiddhi (Borsad) and *Govaṭṭana*.

Of the four *Māthara* families of *Vājasaneya Kāṇva Śākhā*, three lived at *Govaṭṭana* and one at *Mānyakheṭaka*. The two Mudgala *Mādhyandina* families lived at *Govaṭṭana*.

There was a family each of *Parāśara*, *Śāṇḍilya*, *Saundāna*, *Yaugaṇa* and three of *Vārṣaṇeya gotra* and *Mādhyandina Śākhā* and residing at *Govaṭṭana*.

From *Valabhī* came a *Mādhyandina* of *Vātsyāyana gotra*, while there was one *Vaḍḍamukha*, a *Ṛgvedī*.

[1] Survey Map of India, 1"=1 Mile $\frac{46\ F}{4\ x\ 8}$

Of the six Vatsa *gotrīyas*, one family was a *Ṛgvedī*, but further details about it are missing. Another was a *Kāṇva*, and lived at Jambusara. The third was a *Mādhyandina* and lived at *Govaṭṭana*. One *Vāśiṣṭha* was a *Ṛgvedī* from Bharukaccha.

These epigraphical data about *Rāṣṭrakūṭa Brāhmaṇas* show that during the succeeding 200 years or so, (c. 750-970 A. D.) the *Bhāradvājas* still predominated, but whereas the earlier families had settled around Broach, and belonged half to the *Kāṇva S'ākhā* of the Yajurveda, and half to the Kauthuma of the *Sāmaveda*, some of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa Bhāradvājas* had come from *Karṇāṭaka* or further south, a few of which were *Ṛgvedīs*, and others of the *Taittirīya S'ākhā*. It is to be noted however that Gujarat (*Govaṭṭana*) Yajurvediyas were of the *Mādhyandina S'ākhā*, as under the Gurjjaras.

Likewise some of the *Mātharas* came from the Deccan, and some belonged to *Govaṭṭana*.

Only one *Kauṇḍiṇya* family, living at *Variāvi*, south of Jambusar-Broach is mentioned. But like this family, the *Lakṣmaṇas* of the Bardoli Taluka were also patronised.

All the remaining gotras are new. Of these one *Vātsyāyana* and a *Mādhyandina* is from *Valabhī*,

This analysis of the patronage of *Brāhmaṇas* by the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* leaves the impression that they did not show any special preference for *Brāhmaṇas* from the Deccan and *Karṇāṭaka*. Since the rulers were from these parts, a small South Indian element was no doubt introduced into Gujarat as during the *Cālukyas*. But the place which figures very prominently is *Govaṭṭana*. What was Jambusara in the Gurjjara period, a home of *Brāhmaṇas* of several *gotras*, *Govaṭṭana* was under the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*. If BUEHLER's identification is correct, then these two lie in contiguous areas, and must have formed with Badarasiddhi (Borsad), immediately to the north and north-west of Jambusar and Kotna respectively, and Motakka to the south in Surat District, large colonies of *Brāhmaṇas* in the heart of the most fertile regions of Central Gujarat.

Again as during the preceding period the *Brāhmaṇas* belonging to the *Mādhyandina* and *Kāṇva S'ākhās* were patronized most; then those of the *Taittirīya S'ākha* and lastly *Ṛgvedīs*.

It would be too much to assert that *Sāmavedīs* and *Atharvavedīs*

were not patronized at all, but so far there is no evidence from the Gujarat inscriptions of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*.

Table showing the Relationship between Vedic Sakhas, Gotras and Provenance of Brahmanas mentioned in Rastrkuta Inscriptions found in Gujarat

YAJURVEDA

Mādhyandina		*Kāṇva.*	*Taittirīya*	
Āgnesamāna[1]	(*Govaṭṭana*)		*Bhāradvāja*	(*Bādavi*)
Bhāradvāja	”		*Karahāḍa*	
Gautama	”		*Tigāvi*	
Kātyāyana	”		Vengi.	
Kauśa[1]	”			
Kuṇḍina (*Variāvi*)[1]				
Lākṣayaṇa (*Bhadrapāli*)				
Lakṣmaṇa[1] (Umbara, Tenna, *Pāṭaliputra*)				
Lāvāṇa[1] (*Govaṭṭana* and Badarasiddhi (Borsad).				
Mudgala	(*Govaṭṭana*)			
Parāśara	”			
Sāṇḍilya	”			
Saundana[1]	”			
Yaugana[1]	”			
Vātsyāyana (*Valabhī*)				
Vārṣaṇeya (*Govaṭṭana*)				
Vatsa	”			
Vaśiṣṭha (Bharukaccha).				
Bhāradvāja (*Karahāḍa*)				
Vaḍḍamukha (*Govaṭṭana*)[1]				
Vatsa				
Vaśiṣṭha (Bharukaccha).				

[1] See footnotes on these on pp. 124 and 126.

The copper-plates of the Maitrakas of *Valabhī* mention the following *Brāhmaṇa gotras*;

Ātreya (2), *Audaraśani*[1] (1), *Bhārgava* (2), *Bhāradvāja* (7), Darbha (1) *Dauṇḍavya*[2] (1), *Droṇāyana* (1), *Gārgya* (3), *Jābāla* (1), *Kāśyapa* (1) *Kauśika* (8), *Kapiṣṭhala* (2), *Kauśaravasa*[2] (1), *Mānava* (1) *Opasvati*[2] (1) *Parāśara* (4), *Śāṇḍilya* (4), *Śārkkarākṣi* (4), *Tāpasa* (1), *Vatsa* (1), *Vrajagaṇa*[2] (1). (*Vṛṣagaṇa*?)

In this list we have only 5 *gotras—Bhāradvāja, Dauṇḍavya, Kāśyapa, Kauśika,* and Vatsa which are common to the Gurjjara list and there are five—*Bhāradvāja, Kauśika, Parāśara, Sāṇḍilya* and Vatsa which are also found in the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* list. The three gotras which occur in all the three lists are *Bhāradvāja, Kauṣika* and Vatsa. All the rest are new and found for the first time in Maitrka inscriptions.

What is the significance of this? Does it merely show the spread or existence of more *Brāhmaṇa* families or has it anything to do with the migration of *Brāhmaṇas* due to political, social and religious causes?

Of the two *Ātreya* families, one is a *Vājasaneya* from Nagaraka, the other an *Atharvavedī* from Hastavapra (Hathab), on the south-east coast of *Kāthiāwar.*

The family of the *Audaraśanis* is said to have migrated from *Daśapura* and settled down in *Valabhī.*

There are two *Bhārgava* families; one a *Ṛgvedi* from Hastavapra, the other a *Yajurvedī* of *Maitrayaṇīya Śākhā* from Brahmapura.

Once again the *Bhāradvājas* are in a larger number. Of the 7 families, one is a *Yajurvedī* (*Maitrāyaṇīya*) from Gomutraka and resident of *Valabhī.* All the rest are *Sāmavedīs,* perhaps of the *Kauthūma Śākhā.* One is a resident of *Kheṭaka,* having migrated there from Girinagara; one a resident of *Valabhī,* come from Gomutraka. The third a resident of *Kikkāta,* an emigré from *Siṁhapura.* The fourth a resident of *Valabhī* from *Ānartapura.* The fifth from *Kuśahrada.*

The *Dauṇḍavya* is a *Vājasaneya* from *Dīpa,* that is modern Diu, a Portuguese possession. The *Droṇāyana* is an *Atharvavedī,* resident of Hastakavapra.

[1] *GPNK.* has not this but has Audari.

[2] *GPNK.* does not mention this.

Of the two *Gārgyas*, one is a *Yajurvedī* or *Sāmavedī*, resident of *Valabhī* from *Ānandapura*; the other a *Ṛgvedī*, resident of *Liptikhaṇḍa* from *Varddhamāna* (Wadhwan).

The *Jābāla* is a *Vājasaneya* of *Siṁhapura*. Both the *Kāpiṣṭhalas* are *Sāmavedīs* and resident of Gorakesi Goras, near Mahuva, from *Vaṭapadra*.

The *Kāśyapa* is a *Sāmavedī* from *Ḍāmaripāṭaka*. Of the 8 *Kauśika* families, two are *Yajurvedīs*, one from *Valabhī*, the rest *Sāmavedīs*, one each from *Daśapura*, Jambusara, and *Valabhī*.

The one *Kauśaravasa* family is an *Atharvavedī* and inhabitant of *Ānarttapura*. The *Mānava*, a *Sāmavedī* of *Vaṭapadra*, and the Opasvati a *Vājasaneya* of Akrolaka.

One of the *Parāśaras* is an *Atharvavedī* of *Ḍabka*, and the other three *Vājasaneya Mādhyandinas*, inhabitants of *Kheṭaka* and Agastikāgrahāra, having gone there from Udumbaragahvara, and *Sāṁgapuri*.

Of the four *Śāṇḍilyas*, three are Kauthuma *Sāmavedīs*, resident of *Śaṅkaravāṭaka*, while the fourth is of the *Maitrāyaṇī Śākhā* of the Yajurveda.

All the four *Śārkkarākṣis* are *Ṛgvedīs*, one resident of *Ānandapura*, the second and third of *Kheṭaka* and emigré from *Ānandapura* and *Ānartapura* respectively, the fourth a resident of *Kāsaragrāma* and emigré from *Ānarttapura*

The *Tāpasa* seems to be a *Ṛgvedī* and a resident of *Kheṭaka*, having gone there from Girinagara.

Surprisingly only one Vatsa is found so far in Maitraka plates. He is as before, a *Vājasaneya*, resident of *Siṁhapura*, and an *emigré* from Girinagara.

The one *Vrajagaṇa* is a *Sāmavedī* and inhabitant of *Siṁhapura*.

This detailed survey of the Maitraka *Brāhmaṇas*, their gotras, the Vedic *Śākhās* followed by them and the places where they lived has been briefly summarised in the table on the next page.

Table showing the Relationship between Gotras, Vedic Sakhas and Provenance of Brahmanas mentioned in Maitraka Inscriptions

ṚGVEDA

Bhārgava	Hastavapra, Brahmapura.
Gārgya	*Liptikhaṇḍa-Varddhamāna.*
Śārkkarākṣi	*Kheṭaka, Ānanda-Ānartta-pura.*
Tāpasa	*Kheṭaka*, Girinagara.

ATHARVAVEDA

Atreya	Hastavapra
Droṇāyana	,,
Kauśaravasa	*Ānarttapura*
Parāsara	*Ḍabka.*

SĀMAVEDA

Kauthuma Śākhā

Bhāradvāja	*Valabhī-Ānandapura* / *Kheṭaka*-Girinagara / *Kikkāta-Siṁhapura.*
Gārgya	*Valabhī-Ānandapura.*
Kapiṣṭhala	*Gorakeṣa-Vaṭapadra.*
Kauśika	*Daśapura.*
Mānava	*Vaṭapadra.*
Śāṇḍilya	*Śaṅkaravāṭaka.*
Vrajagaṇa[1]	*Siṁhapura.*

YAJURVEDA

Vājasaneya	*Mādhyandina*	*Kāṇva*	*Maitrāyaṇīya.*
Ātreya (Nagaraka)			*Bhārgava* (Hastavapra)
Dāṇḍavya (*Dīpa*)			*Bhāradvāja* (*Valabhī*-Gomutraka)
			Śāṇḍilya (*Viṁśakaṭa*, near *Valabhī*)

(*continued on the next page*)

[1] See footnote at p. 130.

Gārgya (*Valabhī-Ānandapura*)
Jābāla (*Siṁhapura*).
Kauśika (Mahicchaka, *Puśyasāṁbapura*,
Agastikāgrahāra, *Valabhī*, Jambusara.)
Opasvati (Akrolaka)
Parāśara (*Kheṭaka*, Udumbaragahvara,
Agastīkāgrahāra, *Sāṁbapura*).
Vatsa (*Siṁhapura*-Girinagara).
Upamanyu (*Girinagara-Śraddhikā* (*Sādhī*,
1 mile east of *Aṁtī*, Padra Taluka).

The table at a glance shows that the Yajurveda claimed the largest number of *Brāhmaṇas*, drawn from 12 *gotras*. These were spread over parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar.

The *Sāmavedīs* were not much less; drawn from 8 gotras, four of which are found in the list of *Yajurvedīs*, and were spread almost over the same regions as the *Yajurvedīs*.

The *Ṛgveda* and Atharvaveda each has *Brāhmaṇas* from 4 *gotras*. The two of the former are common to the Yajus and *Sāma* list; of the latter only one, *Parāśara*, occurs in the Yajurveda list.

The knowledge derived from this study of the Gujarat *Brāhmaṇas* during the early mediaeval period, 500-970 A.D., can be further advanced if we can correlate it with a similar knowledge derived from the present distribution of *Brāhmaṇas*, their *gotras* and Vedic *Śākhās* followed by them, and with what can be gathered from early literature.

Unfortunately our data cannot be fully compared with either of these. For similar study is not yet made of these two sources. ENTHOVEN's ethnographic survey gives a long list of Gujarat *Brāhmaṇas*, but this is admitted to be merely geographical, where no mention is made of the *gotra* and Vedic *Śākhā* of each group.

It would however appear from the brief notes on the Gurjjara *Brāhmaṇas* published by John WILSON in his *Indian Caste*,[1] nearly 70 years ago, that most of the Gujarat *Brāhmaṇas*, though by that time known by their geographical distinctions, were followers of the

[1] Vol. II, 91-124.

Mādhyandina Śākhā of the Yajurveda. The *Ṛgveda* claimed a majority of the *Nāgara* sub-groups,[1] though not exclusively. A few *Nāgaras* were adherents of the *Sāmaveda*, but its exclusive followers were the Sajodras,[2] *Gaṅgāputras*.[3] and Kapilas,[4] No exclusive followers of the Atharvaveda have been mentioned, but it had a few followers among the *Vāyaḍās*.[5]

This proportion among *Brāhmaṇas* following the different Vedas does not seem to have been disturbed through all these 1000 years.

How or why this happened, and which group or family first came to inhabit Gujarat?

I cannot answer why it is so. As to the second part of the question viz., which group came first, I would note that as far as the *gotras* are concerned, the *Bhāradvājas*, *Kauśikas* and Vatsas figure in all the dynastic periods. But *Bhārgavas* who are credited traditionally with the colonisation of the coastal strip from Broach to Sopara or a little further down, are found only, and that too twice, in the Maitraka plates.

Now the *gotras* can be counted at the present day by thousands, as they were even in the time of *Baudhāyana*.[6] RAO in his *Gotra-Pravara-Nibandhakadambakam* has listed nearly 5000 gotra-*ṛṣis*, that is names of forefathers, which a *Brāhmaṇa* would take while performing religious functions, ordinarily at least thrice a day.

However, according to the *Mahābhārata*, the original (*ādya*) *gotra ṛṣis* were four only, viz. *Bhṛgu*, *Vaśiṣṭha*, *Kāśyapa*, and *Aṅgiras*. All the *Śrauta Sūtras* mention the following eight: *Viśvāmitra*, Jamadagni, *Bhāradvāja*, Gautama, Atri, Agastya, *Vaśiṣṭha* and *Kaśyapa*.

To this, names of 10 more *ṛṣis*, who were once *Kṣatriyas*, were added in the Vedic period bringing the list to 18 *gotra ṛṣis*. Those are regarded as the original founder-members, from which the various other sub-groups sprang up. For *gotra*, as defined by *Pāṇini*, meant "descendants from the grandson onwards of any well-known man.

[1] *Ibid.* 97.
[2] *Ibid.* 103
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.* 108.
[5] *Ibid.* 104.
[6] VAIDYA, *All India Oriental Conference Report*, I (1919), 36.

Gotram pautraprabhūtyapatyam".[1] The general conception is that *gotra* denotes all persons who trace descent in an unbroken male line from a common male ancestor, whereas according to the *S'rauta* and *Dharmasūtras* the progeny of the 8 primary sages is declared to be *a gotra*

When we compare our list of *gotras* from inscriptions with this original list, we find that in the Gurjjara list of *gotras* there are only five of the 18 *ādya gotras*, 9 are new; the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* has only 4 old *gotras* and 16 new, while the Maitraka list has only 3 old and 16 new *gotras*. The new ones represent descendants of the subsequent founders. In this way the antiquity of a number of *gotras* can be fixed, when information from inscriptions all over India will be gathered.

The Vedic Sakhas

As far as the *S'ākhās* of the four Vedas are concerned we do not get much information, or what is available is in accordance with what is known from old literature. Thus we know that the *Ṛgveda's Āśvalāyana S'ākhā*, *Sāma's* Kauthuma, Yajur's two main *S'ukla* and *Kṛṣṇa*, and of the former *Kāṇva* and *Mādhyandīna* and the latter's *Taittirīya* and *Maitrāyaṇīya*, and lastly the Atharva's *Pippalāda S'ākhā* were prevalent in Gujarat.

These details, though so few, are important for tracing the history and antiquity of the existence of the various *śākhās* of the different Vedas. Presumably the various *śākhās* existed both in the oral and and written forms. So when the Gujarat epigraphs of the 7th-10th centuries tell us that the *Ṛg's Āśvalāyana* and the Atharva's *Pippalāda śākhā* were studied, then we may some day expect to discover MSS. of these recensions, though at present only the *S'ākala* of the *Ṛg.* and the best preserved MS. of the *S'aunaka*, and only a single inaccurate MS. of the *Pippalāda* recensions of the Atharva have come down to us.

In the case of the Yajurveda, some further interesting enquiries are possible. For instance, there is the persistent tradition, beginning with *Patañjali* (*Mahābhāṣya*, I. 1. 1) that it had one hundred and

[1] *Ibid.*

one *śākhās*. What are these 101 *śākhās*? and how many of them had spread to Gujarat? It would appear from the extracts cited by Dr. Raghu VIRA[1] from the *Devī Purāṇa*,[2] *Agni Purāṇa*,[3] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,[4] the *AV Pariśiṣṭa Caraṇavyūha*,[5] the *YV Pariśiṣṭa Caraṇavyūha* list,[6] and of the newly discovered Yajur *Vṛkṣa*, a chart on which the Yajur tree is drawn with 101 branches reaching every remote corner of the Indian Peninsula; "that the list contains", as Raghu VIRA said of another list, "names of *ācāryas* who were invoked at certain ceremonies, and not of *Śākhā* pravartakas." Secondly some of the names are purely of of semi-geographical nature. (cf. Paundra *Vatsā*, *Gauḍa-Gurjarā*, *Puṣkaraṇīya* etc.,).[7] This also leads me to think that the list is very late, at least of a period when such geographical designations of Brahmanas were becoming fashionable.

Anyway the chart is useful in this that it tells us the distribution of certain sub-*śākhās*, which may be really after the gotra *ṛṣis*. Thus we have the following sub-branches of the *Śukla* Yajur :—

Kāṇvas are located in the *Kṛṣṇāüna deśa*, probably the region of the conjoint stream of the *Kṛṣṇā* and *Veṇā*.

Jābālās in the *Narmadā* (valley).

Pārāśaras and *Gauḍa* Gurjaras in *Marudeśa*.

Gālavās in *Saurāṣṭra*.

Kātyāyanās on the confluence (?) of the *Narmadā*.

Almost all the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurvedīs* are placed in the south; the *Taittirīyas* and *Maitrāyaṇīyas* south of the *Godāvarī*, *Āpastambas* in *Āndhra-deśa* and *Hiraṇyakeṣīs* "near *Paraśurāma*" i.e. in the Konkan, Aupamanyavas in *Krauñcadvīpa* and *Kapiṣṭhalas* in *Yavanadeśa* and *Mānavas* in *Saurāṣṭra-deśa*.

If I am right in thinking that some of these sub-branches of the Yajur Veda really stand for names of *gotras* of *Brāhmaṇas* found within ts followers, then in the list of *Brāhmaṇas* from the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* plates

[1] RAGHU VIRA, "*Śākhās* of the Yajur Veda" *Journal of Vedic Studies*, II (1935) 1.
[2] *Ibid.* 3
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.* 4.
[6] *Ibid.* 4-6
[7] *Ibid.* 11, 14 etc.

we do find *Kāṇvas*, *Pārāśaras*, and a few *Kātyāyanas* of *S'ukla* Yajur residents of *Govaṭṭana* in Gujarat. The former have been also found in *Mahārāṣṭra*. All followers of the *Kṛṣṇa* Yajurveda have been found to come from south of the Godavari.

The Maitraka plates have shown us the existence of the *Kapiṣṭhalas* and *Jābālās*, besides that of the *Pārāśaras* in Gujarat.

Thus the epigraphical evidence is corroborated to a certain extent by literary evidence of unknown date, and also by the count of the existing Brahmana families, following different Vedas and their *S'ākhās* in the last century.

Names of Persons other than Brahmanas. Caulukya Period

The general characteristics of personal names of the Caulukya period has already been indicated. If in the earlier periods names of *Brāhmaṇas* completely dominated the epigraphical field, during this period, their names almost seem to fade out, while those of the merchant class appear in increasing numbers. With them appear their professional and other designations which ultimately became surnames in the 20th century, and we get the first clear glimpse of the sub-castes after regional groups of people. In short we see not only in the political sphere the foundations being laid of an independent Gujarat, but also in the social sphere, of cultural elements that we have inherited today. In the Appendix,

Column	I	gives the names of persons arranged alphabetically.	
Column	II	the profession or designation of the person.	
"	III	Religion	—do—
"	IV	Caste or Sub-caste	—do—
"	V	Residence	—do—
"	VI	The time and king under whom the person lived.	
"	VII	The source of the information in cloumns I to VI.	

Taking up only the names themselves, we are struck by the fact that almost half the number of names are non-Sanskritic. We may even classify all the names into

I. Sanskrit, further divided into
(a) Purely Sanskrit, (b) Sanskritized.

II. Prakrit, further divided into
(a) Purely Prakrit, (b) Prakritized.

The Sanskrit names include names such as Anupamadevi, *Āśādıtya*, Bhojadeva, *Caṇḍaśarmā*, *Caṇḍasiṁha*, *Dāmodara*, Devadhara, Govinda, *Kumārasiṁha*, *Mahīpāla*, *Rāmacandra*, *Madhusūdana*, Somaravi. These do not present any problem. Their cultural significance will be dealt with further.

The Sanskritized group will comprise such names:—
Abubrāhima, Noradina, both of which are Arabic, Piroja which is Persian, designations Mudi and *Bāï*, which are supposed to be Turkish and all the Prakrit or Prakritized words which have been used as Sanskrit.

Purely Prakrit elements are found very often in the suffixes e.g. *sīha*; sometimes in the first member of the word e.g. *Ʒasa-pāla* or *deva*, or Jaga-deva, *Ratana-pāla*, *Salakhaṇa*, *Sātikumāra*, or at times the entire word, e.g. Bhola, and other names ending in *-la*, such as *Cāhila*, Kakala, Khetala, *Soḍhala*, *Pālhana* (supposed to be from *Pralhādana*).

While these names can be derived from Sanskrit, either partly or wholly, and thus their import understood there are a number of other Prakrit-looking names which defy or seem to fall outside the rules given for the formation of the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages.

These names, according to their endings have been grouped into the following classes.

Names ending in ḍa

1. *Āhaḍa.*
2. *Āṁbaḍa.*
3. *Bhīmaḍa.*
4. *Cāhaḍa.*
5. *Cāhuḍa*
6. *Cāḍa*
7. *Dāhaḍa*
8. *Dedā*(?)
9. *Dhūhaḍa.*
10. *Ʒasahaḍa.*
11. *Kākhaḍa.*
12. *Khimaḍa.*
13. *Nāgaḍa.*
14. *Dethaḍa.*
15. *Punaḍa.*
16. *Sākhaḍā.*
17. *Sāvaḍa.*
18. *Sohaḍa.*
19. *Vāhaḍa.*
20. *Vohaḍī.*
21. *Vāhudā.*
22. *Vājaḍa.*
23. *Vohaḍi.*

Names ending in ga.

1. *Āmiga.*
2. *Cāciga*
3. *Cāṅga*(?)
4. *Dhaüliga*
5. *Dharaṇiga.*
6. Putugi-deva.
7. *Puṁga.*
8. Putiga.
9. *Rāniga.*
10. *Sāliga.*
11. *Sohagā.*
12. Sumiga.
13. *Vāliga.*

Names ending in °lha or °lhaṇa

1. *Ālha*
2. *Ālhaṇa*
3. *Ālhaṇā*
4. Delha
5. *Delhaṇa*
6. *Jālhaṇa.*
7. *Kālhaṇa.*
8. *Kīlhaṇa.*
9. *Malhaṇa.*
10. *Pālhaṇa.*
11. *Pralhādana.*
12. *Rālhā.*
13. *Sālhā.*

Names ending in °la

1. *Āsala.*
2. *Bholā.*
3. *Cāhila.*
4. Desala.
5. Gosala.
6. *Gajaïla*
7. *Pāsila.*
8. *Rāsala.*
9. *Sāhlā.*
10. *Sāḍhala.*
11. *Vāpala.*
12. Vaijala
13. *Vīsala.* (?).

A few of the names in each group might be derived from Sanskrit as

Āmbaḍa	< *Āmrabhaṭa.*
Vāhaḍa < *Vāgaḍa*	< *Vāgabhaṭa.*
Sohagā	< *S'obhanā* (?) *Saubhāgya*
Pālha	< *Pralhādana.*

but most of the names cannot be so derived. Even *Vāgaḍa* and others seem to be attempts to sanskritize Prakrit or foreign words, for they appear in Sanskrit works written by Jaina *ācāryas* of the period.

What are these name-endings in *ḍa* and *ga*? One explanation is, as suggested by Dr. KATRE, that these are *S'aka* names or name-endings, or Sanskrit or Prakrit endings *S'akaized* because the bearers of the names were either *S'akas* or Gurjjaras or some such people from Central Asia. If we look to the other details, persons bearing these non-Sanskritic, non-Prakritic names we find that most of them are Jainas, belonging to the sub-castes *Prāgvāṭa, Osavāla, Dharkkaṭa*, many of them merchants and originally residents of Rajputana. One of them, *Peṭhaḍa* is actually called a Gurjjara. So it would not be surprising that these Jainas and others, all having *S'akaized* name-endings, belonged originally to the Gurjjara tribe which colonised first in the Panjab, and then in Rajputana. And since during the Caulukya period, they flocked to Northern Gujarat, occupied some of the most important positions in the realm, and acquired immense wealth, the new country which they colonised came to be called after them—*Gurjaratrā*, and later Gujarat. This would explain why so many of them are Jainas. Just as in the earlier period Buddhism claimed a number of converts among the *S'akas* and Indo-Greeks, and now Christianity claims among Kolis and other aboriginal tribes, so Jainism could claim a large share of these foreigners. Still a smaller number perhaps did find entrance in the Hindu fold, as the specification of the religion of a number of persons would show; some of them might be reconverts too, as many of the *Porvāḍs* (*Prāgvāṭas* of the epigraphs) who were Jainas some 700 years ago, became *Vaiṣṇavas* by the efforts of Vallabhacarya in the XVI century, and are still so.

These Prakrit-looking names are, therefore, of immense ethnological significance pointing as they do to the foreign elements in the population of the Caulukya Gujarat, and to the consequent change in the country's name.[1] For not only the rulers possibly were, in not a far too distant period, of foreign descent, but even part of the population was also of a similar origin.

[1] See SANKALIA, "Origin of the Gurjaras". *JGRS*. 1946. 82-87.

Designations

Further foreign influence over these Gurjjara Jainas, this time perhaps because of their contact as merchants and traders with foreigners, is seen in the designations their men and women bear.

Mudi

Gaṅga or *Gāgā*, the father of *Dharaṇiga*, and the prime ancestor of the famous *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla*, is called a *Mudī*. This word cannot be the same as Sanskrit *Mudi* meaning moonlight, or any derivative from √ *mud*, but is supposed to be no other than our *Gujarātī* word '*modī*' meaning a grocer.[1] But *mudī* or *modī* is not a real *Gujarātī* word, derived from Prakrit, *Apabhraṁśa*, or Sanskrit. It is regarded as a loan word from *Arabic*, as my colleague Prof. C. H. SHAIKH kindly informs me. If this view is correct, then the word must have been borrowed from the foreign merchants trading with merchants in Gujarat-Rajputana, or borrowed from the invading hosts coming with Mahmud of Ghazna, or brought along with them by the Gurjjaras. Since no earlier reference is so far found, the latter alternative may be ruled out.

In the original Arabic it means prosperous, wealthy, a sense even now implied to some extent by the term *modī*.

Bai

Even more interesting than the word *mudī* is the word *Bāï*, which is found prefixed to the names of sisters of *Tejaḥpāla*,[2] as *Bāï Ʒālhaṇa-*

[1] Sanskrit *modaka* means sweetmeat; from this 'one dealing in sweetmeat etc.' might be called *modī*(?). Is the word *Mudi* itself from Sanskrit? It has more or less the same connotation.

When the lectures were delivered the above hypothesis was put forward, but later on consulting Dr. CHATTERJI I found that the word had most probably come from the Egyptian *mudrā*. He says:

Hebrew *Mizraim*, Arabic *Miṣr* = Egypt; whence Old Persian *Mudrāya* = Egypt (z > d in OP)—*mudrā*—' Egyptian article, Egyptian flat seal as opposed to a Babylonian cylindrical seal > Skt. *mudrā* = seal, sealing, ring > MIA. *muddā*, *muddiā* > NIA *mūdī*, *mūda-ḍī* or *mud-rī* 'ring'; Skt. *maudrika* = 'man in charge of a seal', MIA. *moddia* = 'man in charge of stores sealed (with royal seal),' store-keeper. > NIA. *Modī* 'grocer'. Khan Bahadur A. K. SHAIKH also tells me that though in Arabic Mu'di means 'one who causes to reach, deliver etc., it is not used in the sense of 'purveyor'.

[2] *EI.* VIII. 227.

devī, *Bāï Māü*, *Bāï Sohāgayā*, *Bāï Vayajukā* and once in the case of another woman, *Bāï Soḍhala-devī*.[1]

Here I think we have the earliest reference to a word which has become a common term for addressing a woman in *Gujarātī*, Marathi, and Hindi. Its other forms are *Bāïḍī* in *Gujarātī*, and *Bāyako* in *Marāthī*, but in Gujarati *Bāïḍī* is not used in good parlance.[2]

Two explanations are given as to the origin of the word *Bāï*. The first is that the word belongs to the group of onomatopoetic or such type of words used by the very young children for their mother, which are more or less the same in all languages. So far there is no known recorded use of the word *Bāï* in early Sanskrit or Prakrit literature. Hemacandra, in the 12th century, uses the word for 'mother' in his *Kumārapālapratibodha*. This may be the same as our *Bāï*. But in the epigraphs it is not used in the sense of mother, but as a term of address for 'woman'.

Since such a use is very common among Muslims, it is supposed to be a loan word from the Turkish or Arabic (?). If it is, it seems to have been introduced in N. W. India, owing to the same reasons as those mentioned in the case of *mudī*. However, before accepting this latter explanation, it needs to be proved that it was actually in use in Islamic countries prior to the 12th century.

Whatever might have been the true origin of the word *Bāï*, the term seems to be introduced in the language of the people through the higher aristocratic classes (?) in about the 13th century. Whether because it was a foreign word (?) or whether there were some other reasons it appears to have been so much valued, perhaps because it was so valued by the foreigners themselves, that it has precedence over and is used along with *Devī*, a Sanskrit word of long standing, used for goddesses and queens.

It is in this way that we have borrowed other terms of address like *Sāheb*, Mr., Esquire, Monsieur, Miss, Madam as we came into con-

[1] *Ibid.* V. 103.

[2] According to Professor A. K. SHAIKH, Persian dictionaries give 'bayo', 'bayok', or 'bayog' as Persian words meaning 'bride'. Dr. CHATTERJI asks, "Is *Bāï*, *Bāyako* an Austric word? cf. Oriya *māipa* 'wife', *māikiniā* 'woman', discussed in Dr. P.C. BAGCHI, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravadian in India*, Introduction, p. XXII.

tact with other foreigners, and rejected the old Sanskrit terms of address as *S'rīmān, S'rī, Ārya(ā), Devī,* Deva. In some of our modern names *bāï* has become part of the name itself, otherwise when used with Miss or Mrs., either Miss (Mrs.) or *Bāï* is redundant. But the instance is exactly analogous to the use of *Bāï* and *Devī* together. Our recent craze or avidity can be explained, subject people as we are and wishing to emulate our masters, but why did our forefathers think it advisable to do so seven centuries ago? Was it merely due to commercial contact that such cultural changes were effected? Looking to present *Gujarātī* communities, who have spread far and wide in India and abroad, and imbibed foreign culture so much as to forget their own language in a generation or two, this does not seem to be impossible.

Persons having these *S'aka*-Gurjjara name-endings were not all Jainas, nor were they all *Vaiśyas* or *Vaṇiks*. My impression, gathered from the study of names and their endings, the mention of the sub-caste, the professional designation, or designation of status in the village or Government administration together with the specification of the religion of these persons, leads me to think that 10-11th century was a period of flux, and the caste distinctions were not so well settled and fixed, as, say, 50 years ago; I cannot say just at present, for we are already witnessing the beginning of such a period of flux. I would illustrate this point with a few illustrations.

Jnatis

Most of the Jainas belonged to one or the other of the following *Jñātis:—Prāgvāṭa, Moḍha, Oïsavāla, S'rīmāla, Dharkkaṭa.* In some instances the word *kula* is used for *jñāti,* and this applies to *Prāgvāṭa* and *S'rīmāla* only. Here we see not only the traces of 'regional' sub-castes, or caste groups formed according to localities, but perhaps also of the suffix '*vālā*', that all-pervading termination denoting "one who is in possession of", or "one belonging to", which is nowadays used for indicating one's business, native place etc.

This tendency to form regional caste groups is also noticed among other main castes and we hear of *Rāyakavāla-jñāti, Nāgara,* and Palli *jñāti,* and *Moḍha* (*jñāti*) or *vaṁśa.*

Going back to the Jainas, it is to be observed that *Prāgvāṭa* is no other than the present *Porvāḍ* or *Porvāḷ.* The latter two cannot be derived

from *Prāgvāṭa*, but might come from the expression *Porityavoḍāṇa*, and I believe that *Prāgvāṭa* is a Sanskritization of *Porvāḍ*. This may not be originally the name of a place, but of a person, as expressions like *Porityavoḍāṇa-anvayai*, *Prāgvāṭakula*, and *vaṁśa* would suggest, though it is also possible that imitating *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kṣatriyas* who traced their origin to some famous *Ṛṣi*, these Jainas who were probably foreigners used the words *kula* and *vaṁśa* for indicating descent from a place!

Oïsavāla is the present *Osvāla*, one of the main Marwadi sub-groups. They are all from *Osavāla* in Marwad, Rajputana. It would appear that they are called so from this place-name. Or is it that the place is called by that name because *Oïsavālas* lived in large numbers there, *Oïsavāla* itself being a tribal name, or the name of one of the ancestors?

Members of *S'rīmāla jñāti* are now called *S'rīmālī*. There seems to be no doubt that the word stands and stood formerly for a place and not for a person.

Dharkkaṭa is not now found among the list of castes of Bombay Presidency mentioned by ENTHOVEN. Perhaps it exists among the Marwadis in Rajputana.

At present both Jainas and non-Jainas are found among *Porvāḍs*, *Osvālas* and *S'rīmālīs*. This religious distinction might correspond respectively with non-*Vaiśya Vaṇikas* and *Vaiśya Vaṇikas*. But even some Jainas are *Vaṇikas*. And in the Caulukya literature *Vastupāla - Tejaḥpāla* are described as *Vaṇikas*. *Vaṇikas* they were in the literal sense of the word, for they were big merchants.

But it must be observed here that in none of the epigraphs either they or members of *Oïsavāla*, or *S'rīmāla*, or *Dharkkaṭa* castes are called *Vaiśyas* or *Vaṇikas*. While their business or profession may be indicated by the designations *Ṭha* (*kkara*), *S'reṣṭhī* or *Goṣṭhī* (?) I should think that from the point of view of orthodox Jainism, it was not necessary to profess any caste distinction, as *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kśatriya*, *Vaiśya*, for no such distinctions existed or were tolerated.

In the personal names borne by the Jainas at this period we notice a free adoption of *Kṣatriya* and *Vaiśya* names and name-endings; take for example names of members of the family of *Tejaḥpāla's* wife: *S'rī*

Sāvadeva, *Sāliga*, *Sāgara*, *Gāgā* or *Gaṅga*, *Dharaṇiga*, *Rāṇiga*; and also of *Tejaḥpāla's* own family, *Caṇḍaprasāda*, Soma (*rāja*), *Āsarāja*, Malla-sena, *Vastupāla*, *Tejaḥpāla* and *Lūṇasiṁha*. There is nothing to suggest that these families were *Vaiśyas*. Except perhaps the prefix *Ṭha°* standing for *Ṭhakkara*, meaning as I will show later, a merchant. These names therefore cannot be regarded as purely *Vaiśya* names.

If *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla* were regarded as *Vaiśyas*, it was probably because by profession they were *Vaṇikas*, and by religion supposed to be non-violent. Since, later still, all or most of the Jains engaged themselves in trade or business, their religion definitely precluding them from warfare, the Jainas came to be regarded as *Vaiśyas* and their names, as I will show later, were strictly after the *Vaiśya-Vaṇik* pattern.

Whatever may have been the views of writers in cloisters, the epigraphs of the period seem to record what was actually happening in the socio-religious field.

While the names of Jainas are not indicative of their caste, because probably they had none, some of the names do indicate that the person was a recent convert to Jainism, or the faith or caste to which prior to his conversion he belonged. In the former category we may place names like Jinadeva, *Vīrdeva*, *Pāsacandra* (Sk. *Pārśvacaṇdra*), names after some of the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras*. Whereas names like Brahmadeva, and *Brahmasaraṇu* would normally suggest that the person before his conversion was a *Brāhmaṇa* or that he had realized or was a seeker after *Brahman*. Some—very few—bear names of Hindu gods too, such as *Lakhmaṇa*, *Rāmacandra*, but so far no names after *Śiva* or *Viṣṇu* have been found.

However a vast majority retain their semi-Sanskrit, semi-Prakrit-like names as pointed out at the outset of this section.

With regard to the suffixes of Jaina names most of them have no suffixes; others have *siṁha*, *sīha*, *deva*, and *candra*. The last becoming *caṇda* and even now constitutes a characteristic Jaina personal name-ending. No doubt it was borrowed from Jaina *ācāryas*, (cf. Hemacandra, and names of other *ācāryas*). "*Sīha*" has been incorporated in the name itself, as *Padmasīha* has become *Padmasī* (or *śī*).

The non-Jaina names include a few of *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kāyasthas*, artisans and others which do not fall within any definite group.

Those of the first, viz. *Brāhmaṇas*, are very few. But even in these we observe the dropping out of the *śarman*-ending, and the new practice of naming directly after the family god *Śiva* or *Viṣṇu*. That the *Brāhmaṇas* had also begun to form caste-groups after certain places has already been noted. The one prominent group which is often mentioned as *Purohitas* and ministers of the state is that of the *Nāgaras*. Reference is also made to *Kapiṣṭhalas* and *Rāyakavālas*.

Kayastha

Persons called *Kāyasthas* are usually found as writers in inscriptions. Nowadays they form a distinct sub-caste in Gujarat, Bengal, and U.P. Though writers are always mentioned separately in inscriptions from a very early period their caste is nowhere indicated until we come to the Caulukya period. Did then *Kāyasthas* appear only at about this period as a writer class?

With a view to ascertaining this point, the names and designations of writers in Gujarat inscriptions from the earliest times are reviewed below briefly and the evidence compared with similar material from the Caulukya period.

The most important point that strikes one while reviewing the names of writers of Gurjjara, Maitraka, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* and other miscellaneous records is that there seems to be a regular office, and its holder, bearing the titles '*Sāndhivigrahika*' and '*Divirapati*', a hereditary officer. This might be due to the fact that the son might have followed in the father's footsteps, but it is more probable that the family belonged to the class of writers and, since writers were recruited from this class alone, very often the office tended to be hereditary.

It is true that no name of the writers' group or caste is mentioned in all these inscriptions, except once in a record of *Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa*, where the phrase Vallabha-*Kāyastha* is specifically mentioned.

So it is not impossible that this writer class did not originally form a 'caste', in the sense in which we use it today, but formed only a functional group. It is in this sense, in the primary sense of office, that the term Prathama- or *Jyeṣṭha-Kāyastha* is used in the 5th, 6th and even 8th century inscriptions of the Guptas and other dynasties in Bengal.

In exactly identical sense the significance of the term *Kāyastha* is explained by *Viṣṇu* and *Yājñavalkya Smṛtis*, though it does not occur in the oldest *Dharmasūtras* of Gautama, *Āpastamba*, *Baudhāyana* and *Vaśiṣṭha*, nor in the *Manusmṛti*, according to KANE [1] who further thinks that in the early centuries of the Christian era, *Kāyastha* was an officer, "having been possibly derived from or is a Sanskrit approximation of some foreign word." A *Kāyastha*, according to the *Viṣṇu Dha.S.*, wrote the public documents; and according to the commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* he was an accountant and scribe. These *Smṛtis* and the Commentary do not lay down any new thing but perhaps echo the actual state of facts as observed and recorded in inscriptions

But in India, as elsewhere, (in Egypt, Rome, England) where professions were long since hereditary, they tended to form distinct endogamous groups or castes. When actually this practice originated we do not know, but in about the 10th century these sub-castes begin to appear in inscriptions. The *Kāyastha* is one of these sub-castes. Not only is it mentioned as a distinct entity in Caulukya records from the time of *Mūlarāja* onwards, but at about the same time it is mentioned in inscriptions of the Gurjjara-*Pratihāras* and their successors, the *Gāhaḍvālas* of Kanauj, and *Pālas* and their successors in Bengal.

What is therefore established is that there was a writer class in Gujarat from a very early period, at least from 600 A. D., which later in the 10th century came to form a sub-caste called *Kāyastha*.

In view of this fact one can hardly agree with the view expressed in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, and repeated by ENTHOVEN that the great writer caste (of the *Kāyasthas*) had been brought into Gujarat by Muhammadan conquerors at the close of the 16th century when Gujarat became part of the Mughal empire.

Even now the caste numbers only 2000 and odd souls, which is spread in small numbers all over Gujarat. What the Mughals therefore

[1] *Op. cit.* II, i, 75-76; also *NIA*, I, 739-43.

[2] It has been suggested that OP. × *Sāya Oiya* (*Khshāyathiya*)='King' is, the source of *Kāyastha* through a MIA **Khāyattha*, **Khāyathiya*; originally it was just a title of respect for officials under the Persian emperors like *ṭhākur*, *mahārāj*, *sāhib*, *master*, etc., S. K. C.

must have done is to augment the existing number of *Kāyasthas*, who wrote royal and public charters for 1000 years or more, before the arrival of the Mughals.

What was the original *Varṇa* to which this writer caste belonged?

Traditionally Gujarat *Kāyasthas* trace their descent from one or the other of *Kṣatriya* dynasties, whereas according to one inscriptional account[1] they were the descendants of a *Śūdra* servant of sage *Kāchara*, but blessed to become wise and diplomats by a boon of *Śiva*, while another inscription would claim their descent from *Kaśyapa*. Similar also seems to be the view implied in the statement that the upper classes of Bengal *Kāyasthas* are descended from the five attendants of the five *Brāhmaṇas* who came to Bengal at the invitation of *Ādisūra*.

RISLEY'S view was that though *Kāyasthas* might have some Aryan blood as their intellectual attainments would show, he was inclined to think that they should have been mostly recruited from the *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras* rather than from the *Kṣatriyas* and *Brāhmaṇas*.

If personal names have any significance, the name endings *bhaṭṭa* and *bhaṭṭi* in the names of Gurjjara, Maitraka and *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* writers would show that these were probably *Brāhmaṇas*, (for *bhaṭṭa* at this period, and even in our times is applied to a *Brāhmaṇa*), though the same cannot be said of Anahila or Madanahila, the first writer, from whom *Skandabhaṭa* and *Vatsabhaṭṭi* descended. Anahila in one case, —in the famous story of the foundation of Anahilapura—is supposed to be a shepherd. One wonders whether the founder of the writer class of *Valabhī* plates was originally a pure *Kṣatriya*, or *Brāhmaṇa*, or belonged to a mixed caste.

Names of some of the writers of Caulukya plates, according to the explanation already given seem to be *Śaka* or Gurjjara-like, in some cases *Kṣatriya*-like (*Sātikumāra*, *Somasiṁha*, *Kumāra*, *Jaitrasiṁha*), whereas in one case it seems to be *Brāhmaṇa*-like[2] (*Vaṭeśvara*).

Since even the names cannot be classified into one or two clear *Varṇa*-groups, the mixed and varied descent of the *Kāyasthas*, as the various accounts above-noted claim, seems to be justified, and the

[1] *History of Bengal*, I, 588.

[2] Cf. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, i, p. 77; *NIA*. I, 743.

names themselves seem to fall into *Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya,* and *Śūdra* (?) categories.

Professional Surnames

Haṭṭavaṇika	Mahattama or Mahattara
Joṣī	*Masāhani*
Pāri°	*Sā°* (*dhu*)
Pūgi	*Śā°*
Rāṇaka	*Śre°*
Rāüṭṭa	*Ṭhakkara*
Bhaṇasāli	*Ṭhakkura*
Bṛhatpuruṣa	*Paṇḍita*
Dhruva	*Saṁghavī*
Gandhin	*Śilpī*
Goṣṭhī	*Sonī*
Mahājana	Koli (Kaulika?)

The Caulukya period not only indicates the emergence of sub-castes, but gives a glimpse of the various functional, professional and other "positional" designations which were then actually used and which survived through the Muslim-Mughal period and became surnames of various families.

Sadhu

The most interesting from the point of view of present surnames are the designations *Sādhu, Śreṣṭhī, Ṭhakkara, Saṁghavī,* Dhruva.

At present one of the most common surnames among Gujaratis is *Shāh.* Even without a census it can be said that the surname is primarily and most widely prevalent among the business communities. Perhaps it is little known and one will be surprised to learn that the origin of this surname is to be traced to the designation *Sādhu*[1] which is found mostly prefixed, in its abbreviated form *Sā°* or *Śā°* to the names of merchants plying various trades in an inscription of *Sāraṅgadeva* and others. But in a few cases the full word *Sādhu* is found in a similar

[1] *Sādhu*> *Sāhu, Śāha, Śā, Sāha.* It is common in Bengal as denoting merchants and also as a caste surname. S. K. C.

context, the earliest epigraphical reference being in the Surat Plate of *Tribhuvanapāla* which leaves no doubt that *Sā°* stands for *Sādhu*. This record makes distinction between a *Sārtha* and *Sādhu*; the former connotating evidently a caravan trader, the latter having a fixed habitation.

It is in this very sense that the most popular account (*kathā*) of *Śrī Satyanārāyaṇadeva* supposed to form part of the *Skandapurāṇa* uses the term *Sādhu*, which is popularly taken to be the name of the merchant.

It also surprises me that the names of a number of these *Sādhus* are given in what we call "curt form" without any suffixes, just as on the Stock Exchange in Bombay even the biggest share-broker is simply addressed by his name, omitting the usual suffixes *lāl*, *dās* etc.

It appears that a distinction was made between *Sādhu* and *Śreṣṭhī* and between these and *Ṭhakkura*, for in the same record some people bear the title *Śre°*. And most of the people in Jaina inscriptions from Mt. Abu have this title. It is believed by some scholars that *Śreṣṭhī* denoted a *Sāhukāra*, a money-lender.

Sresthi

A *Śreṣṭhī* originally might have been a village or town alderman, as it appears in that context in Gupta inscriptions, an office bestowed upon the most prominent person—prominent because of his wealth acquired through trade and commerce, a business magnate—in the town or village. Such a man would also be a money-lender. The *Śreṣṭhis* continued to enjoy this position of respect and trust, as long as the village and town *panchāyats* functioned in India. Even when these fell in disuse, the *Śreṣṭhis* still continued to act as bankers. With the opening of banks, the real *Śreṣṭhis* disappeared from cities, but the term came to be applied prominently to all and sundry who had a little money and stood in some superior position. But if the history of families which bear the surname 'Sheth' is studied, it will be discovered that their forefathers were the town business magnates and bankers. Thus a *Śreṣṭhī* was much more than a *Sādhu* who was merely a merchant, but gradually both came to acquire the same denotation.

Thakkura

Ṭhakkura, a title or designation of a municipal officer, or as a very petty royal officer, appears for the first time in the Caulukya

records. At about the same time it makes its appearance in other parts of Northern India and Bengal.

Nowadays in Gujarat we have the surname *Ṭhakkar*, mostly among *Luhāṇās* and *Bhāṭiās*, *Ṭhākor* among *Brahma-Kṣatris* and among petty feudal chiefs in Gujarat and Kathiawad, whereas among *Vaiṣṇavas*, the deity is called '*Ṭhākorji*'.

Can the proto-type of all these words be *Ṭhakkura* of inscriptions and later Prakrit texts and commentaries on early Jaina literature? In the latter, *Ṭhakkura* means a village chief, or a petty landholder or *Jāgirdār*. Since these were expected to wield arms in defence of their property etc., and some of them were probably *Kṣatriyas*, a *Ṭhakkura* is supposed to be a *Kṣatriya* or Rajput. This is why besides *Ṭhākors* or *Jāgirdārs*, others who are called '*Ṭhākarḍās*' in Gujarat, all claim to be of Rajput descent. If the explanation were only racial, then all the persons bearing the title *Ṭhakkura* in Caulukya records would have to be regarded as *Kṣatriyas*. While this may be true in some cases, it is not true of all. For there are cases where the person is known to be a *Brāhmaṇa*, in some cases a *Kāyastha*, and in one or two a *Moḍha*. And since it is used with reference to persons who appear to be merchants (as in the case of members of the family of *Tejaḥpāla* and his father-in-law), of writers who also bear the title '*Sāndhivigrahika*' or *Dūtaka*, and even women, it appears that during the Caulukya period *Ṭhakkura* was primarily a title, applied irrespective of the caste of the person bearing it. This title might have been denoting a small feudal chief, a *Jāgirdār*. Even in the list of officers mentioned in a grant of *Ajayapāla*, it occupies almost the last place.

The origin of *Ṭhākor* class in Gujarat, and in other parts of India, e.g. Bengal, can be thus explained, and traced back at least to the 10th century.

What is the word *Ṭhakkura* itself, and how did it come to mean a petty chief? Perhaps non-Sanskritic in origin it seems to be related to *ṭhakka*, meaning a 'merchant' and is said to occur in a first century inscription.[1] And the present surname *Ṭhakkara*, found among *Luhāṇās*

[1] MONIER-WILLIAMS, *Sanskrit Dictoinary*, p. 430. Sylvain LEVI, I think, derived it from a Turki word—*tegin*, through a dialectal form like **tegur*, which gave MIA. *ṭhakkura*. See BLOCH's *L'Indo-Aryen*. S. K. C.

and *Bhāṭiās*, many of whom are traders and merchants, seems to have been used in this primary sense of a merchant.

Of the other 'positional' titles: *Bṛhatpuruṣa*, *Goṣṭhī*, *Mahājana*, Mahattama, Mahattara, *Rāṇaka*, *Rāütta*, (from *Rājaputra* (?)—the last survives in the surname *Rāüt*, found in Orissa, *Rāṇaka*, in *Rāṇā*, a title of kings, of Mewad, and other Rajput chiefs; the office of *Mahājana* survived till very late, and is still seen in Bombay in some corporate bodies as grain merchants association, etc., and also as surname (cf. *Marāṭhī Mahājanī*). I do not know whether *Goṣṭhī* survives and in what form. Perhaps *Bṛhatpuruṣa* stands for the term "*Moṭerā*", meaning "Elders". What has become of Mahattama, Mahattara? Has it turned into or has it any relation with *Mehta*? [1]

Haṭṭavaṇika, Joshi, *Pāri'* (*Pārikha*?) *Paṇḍita*, *Pūgi*, *Silpī*, and Soni are functional designations. Of these the last two, *Silpī* and *Sonī* now form small sub-castes. *Haṭṭavaṇika* is our *Gujarātī 'Dukāndār'*. Whether *Pāri'* stands for Parikha or *Pārekha*, and *Bhaṇa* for *Bhaṇasāli* cannot be said for certain.

Saṅghavī, now a surname in many *Gujarātī Vaiṣṇava* Banias and Jainas, originally was the title bestowed, or assumed by rich Jainas who organised a *saṅgha* for a pilgrimage to Jaina holy places.

Naming in a family

Royal genealogies provide the only evidence, for a long time, during the ancient and the early mediaeval period on this point.

A glance at the *Kṣatrapa*, Gurjjara, *Cāhamāna*, *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, *Paramāra*, and Caulukya genealogies shows that very often the grandson was named after the grandfather, but never a son was named after the father. Exception to this practice is noticed among the last *Silādityas* of the Maitraka dynasty. Unless *Silāditya* is regarded as a title, which it most probably is, it would be indeed strange to have members of the four successive generations and standing in the relation of father and son bearing the same name.

This practice of avoiding the father's name was specifically advocated, as we have seen above, by the *Vārāha-Gṛhyasūtra*.

Among the common or non-royal people, we have mostly the names of *Brāhmaṇa* donees. A few instances which give the names of three

[1] Gujarati *Mehtā*, Bihari *Mahato*, both would appear to be from *Mahanta*. S. K. C.

generations show that the father's name is never repeated in naming a child, who is very often named after the grandfather.

Caulukya Period

Unlike in the very early period, about 100 A.D. when boys and girls had identical names, the differentiation being made by the feminine termination *ā*,[1] we find in the Caulukya period as far as the naming in a Jaina family was concerned that:

(i) there was a tendency[2] to give names from a certain set of names, or having certain endings.
(ii) that grandfather's or ancestor's name was usually not repeated.
(iii) that when several daughters and sons were there, each was given a different name as far as possible.
(iv) that distinction was made merely by the addition of feminine termination *ī* or *ā*, by giving a distinct name with or without the addition of the *devī*.

Very little material has come down to us for other castes of Hindus.

There is one point to be noted in the manner in which Jaina names are given in the inscriptions carved in temples at *Delvāḍā*, Mt. Abu. Following the practice observed in inscriptions from the earliest period, a person is mentioned as a son of so and so, and the father's name being in the genitive precedes that of the son. Thus the father's name came first. But since the names are Prakrit, and the word for son, *putra*, first prakritized a into ^{0}*utta*, and then abbreviated into ^{0}*u*- we find the names in the following manner: *Śri Desalaii Brahmasaraṇu*, that is *Brahmasaraṇu*, son of Desala. Now if '*u*' indicating 'son of' drops out in usage, then the father's name comes first, and then that of the son, leaving no indication of the fact. But the society, in which this usage is prevalent, forgetting the original practice would give the father's name first and then of the person concerned. That is how I think the Marwadis developed the custom of mentioning first the father's name.[3] For most of the Jaina names in Caulukya inscriptions are of people living in Rajputana.

[1] See SANKALIA, *BDCRI*. III, 355.

[2] It exists in Bengal also. S. K. C.

[3] This feature is also noticed among Tamils, Malayalis, Kannadas and Telugus Cf. Marwari surnames in - ka, Marathi in - kai and Sindhi in - nani and - ani. S.K.C.

It may be that the Marwadis have retained the original Indian practice—the practice most of us are observing, viz., mentioning first our name and then the father's, being a new one, originated by contact with Western Culture. This has further resulted in complete omission of the father's name.

Summary

Summarising the evidence presented by inscriptions on the nature of names, the practice of naming in a family, and the *Brāhmaṇa* gotras and Vedic *Śākhās*, and on comparing it (this evidence) with the practices enjoined by law-givers or codifiers of laws, the following tentative conclusions are indicated.

Since we have no early inscriptions contemporary with the Vedic texts or even the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, the latest of which are assigned to the 4th or the 5th century B.C. at least, we cannot pass any judgment on the actual practice during this period.

After nearly a 1000 years, excepting the names of *Śaka Kṣatrapas* which indicate the popularity of the Rudra cult, and the influence of Buddhism on one of the kings, we meet with names in some bulk from the Gurjjara records. Their study showed that most of the names of *Brāhmaṇas* were *Nakṣatra* names, but names of the personal deities, like *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* were also current, a practice enjoined by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. Likewise besides the orthodox suffixes, *Brāhmaṇas* had begun to append non-*Brāhmaṇa* suffixes to their name.

Both these practices indicate almost complete non-observance of the rules laid down even in the latest *Gṛhya Sūtras* and a literal interpretation of the vague rules prescribed by Manu.

The names of *Brāhmaṇas* from the *Valabhī* plates point to a still larger variety of names, some even completely *Kṣatriya*-like and followed by an equally rich variety of suffixes. Whereas their richness is indeed remarkable, they do not show in our present state of knowledge that the bearers of these suffixes were *Nāgara Brāhmaṇas*, as Dr. D.R. BHANDARKAR had postulated 20 years ago and that the endings are not indicative of families of *Brāhmaṇas*, resemble as they do to the endings of *Kāyastha* names in Bengal.

Two centuries later a variety of slightly different nature is seen in the suffixes and prefixes of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa Brāhmaṇas*. In them we

can see the beginnings of some of our present-day surnames, *Dvivedī*, *Trivedī*, and *Dīkṣita*. The names themselves show the greater and greater hold that the cults of the personal deities was having on the people.

This conclusion as to the rise and rapid growth of the cult of personal gods and the gradual disappearance of purely Vedic religion and practices is in full accord with the evidence from archaeology—coins and monuments.

But even among the names of personal deities—*Śiva* and *Viṣṇu*—we see the occurrence of certain names only, pointing to the later increase in their names, as different aspects of these deities came—to be emphasized or invented.

How very exactly reflective of the contemporary usages and religions are the names is shown by the fact that there is not a single name after *Gaṇapati*, or *Hanumān*, and only a couple or so after *Rāma* and *Brahmā*. This conclusively indicates, as I have already shown from purely archaeological studies and as also our study of place-names testifies, that the cults of *Rāma*, *Hanumān* and *Gaṇeśa* are comparatively very recent; that of *Gaṇeśa* not earlier than the 9th century and of *Rāma-Hanumān* definitely post-13th century.

The study of *Brāhmaṇa* gotras and Vedic *Śākhās* showed that up to the 11th century the *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Mādhyandina Vājasaneya Śākhā* preponderated over others, among which there were a few *Ṛg* and *Sāmavedīs* and a sprinkling of *Atharvavedīs*. This proportion is maintained till today. Among the gotras, the earliest and of most frequent occurrence are the *Bhāradvāja*, Vatsa and *Ātreya* gotras, three of the four or eight most ancient gotras.

So much for the pre-Caulukya *Brāhmaṇas*. Unfortunately the evidence for the succeeding period relates to people who are not *Brāhmaṇas*. Hence we cannot find out what further changes took place in the *Brāhmaṇa* names. Among the non-*Brāhmaṇa* names all the few names are after *Śiva* or *Viṣṇu* and none after *nakṣatra* deity. Whether this was becoming a general practice we cannot say for certain. It appears that it was, for we find *Vijñāneśvara* citing an earlier commentator on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (?) that a father should give a name connected with a family deity. Thus the practice had come to be legalised. But whereas we observe this expansion of the rules in naming a child in the

orthodox codes, we find that most of the names of the Jainas and others fall outside even the expanded codes. Barring a few which are after Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras*, others seem to be neither after *nakṣatras* nor personal deities. What is the reason? I think that it is so, as I have already suggested on the evidence of name-endings, because these people belonged to a foreign ethnic group. To accommodate these names and incorporate their bearers into the ever tolerant and expanding Hinduism, we find the later law-givers saying that a name could be given after the letters assigned to each *pāda* of a *Nakṣatra*. A very wide basis was thus secured, giving people more room within which they could choose the name they should give to the new-born. Uptil now this practice was followed. But again a new current has set in, due to political and cultural reasons. Will these new practices be legalised or will religion be completely thrown overboard, and have no voice as far as the naming of a child is concerned?

In the Caulukya period we also have the earliest reference in Gujarat to the functional[1] and "regional" sub-castes, as well as professional and other designations which have now been turned into surnames. Many of the present sub-castes such as *Porvāḍ, Dharkaṭṭa, Osvāla, Śrimāla* were originally, as *Śrimālis* are even now, regional sub-castes, giving no indication as to the *varṇa* of the people. And probably many of the *Porvāḍs* and other families—originally foreigners, *Śaka*, Gurjjara, etc. belonging to Central Asian tribes as their name-endings show—were first *Kṣatriyas* and then *Vaṇikas*. But it must be noted that in this period these were not endogamous groups, as marriage between *Prāgvāṭas, Moḍhas, Oïsavālas* are recorded. Later these groups did prohibit marriages among themselves. Now once again *Porvāḍs* and *Moḍhas* intermarry.

Thus the survey of personal names in Gujarat over 1600 years has revealed how gradually certain features of its social structure were being formed, which at the end of the 14th century had reached a form approximating very nearly the form existing today. Some other features, for instance the ending *-lāl* which is now found as a suffix to names of *Brāhmaṇas, Kśatriyas, Vaiśyas* and all others, and the suffix *-jī* in names such *Nāgjī, Bhīmjī* had not yet appeared. The

[1] These must have already been there, as these have been noted elsewhere in India from at least the first century A.D.

social, political and religious causes which were responsible for bringing about the new additions to the already existing stock of names and suffixes seem to develop during the first 300 years of Muslim rule in Gujarat. For both these suffixes appear in the names occurring in inscriptions of the 16th-17th century. A full and complete investigation of the causes here indicated and their effect on the social structure is urgently desirable as shown by me elsewhere.[1]

APPENDIX II

NAMES OF KAYASTHAS AND WRITERS

Caulukya Inscriptions

Name	Profession	Caste	King	Reference
Jejja	Writer	*Kāyastha*	*Mularāja* I	IA. VI. 192-193. JBBRAS. 49.
Kānchana	,,	,,	*Bhīma* I	IA. VI. 194; XVIII. 110
Vateśvara	,,	,,	,,	EI. XXI. 171
Kekka	*Akṣapaṭalika*	,,	,,	
Kekā	,,	,,	*Karṇa* I	JBBRAS. 26. 250
Kekkaka	,,	,,	,,	EI. I.318
Lakṣma	*Mahāmātya* (?)	,, (?)	*Kumārapāla*	HIG. III. 200.
Vijala	*Ṭha*			
Kumara	*Mahākṣapaṭalika* (Writer)	*Moḍha*	*Mularāja* II	IMP. INS. 73
Pralhādana	,,	*Brāhmaṇa* (?)	Visaladeva	EI. I. 20
Valiga	,,	*Kāyastha*		RLARBP. 331
Sahajiga		*Kāyastha*	Cambay.	RLARBP. 331.
Sātikumāra Somasiṁha	*Ṭha*, writer and *Akṣa* °	*Kāyastha*	*Bhīma* II	IA. VI. 200. 202, 204, 209
Soma	*Ṭha* and writer		V.S. 132—	BPSI. 227.
Vājaḍa	Dhruva & writer	*Kāyastha*	V.S. 1288	RLARBP. 328
Jaitrasiṁha	,,			
Yaśodhara	Writer		*Kumārapāla*	P.O. 147
Kumāra Vosariṇa	*Mahakṣa*° (writer)	*Kāyastha*	*Bhīma* II	IA. VI. 195.

[1] BDCRI, VI. 77.

Lecture V

CORRELAIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

IN this last and concluding lecture I would discuss:

(1) The light that personal and place-names throw on the language and the state of general culture—Aryanization—in ancient and early mediaeval Gujarat.

(2) The nature of the relationship between the ancient or inscriptional place-names and their modern equivalents.

(3) The main features

(a) of ancient administrative units,
(b) of place-names,
(c) of personal names,
(d) of the language of inscriptions,

in Gujarat and other parts of India.

(4) Concrete ways and means for other types of field work having bearing on the subjects treated in these lectures.

(5) The importance of exploring the identified places from archaeological point of view.

Place and Personal Names and General Culture

We have now had an idea of what sorts of place and personal names occur in inscriptions of Gujarat. These from the earliest historical times till the 10th century are mostly in Sanskrit, and a few in Prakrit. From the 10th century onwards we begin to get a larger percentage of Prakṛit personal names, but still a number of names, both place and personal, are in Sanskrit. We may say that the main or dominant feature running through all the names is Sanskrit. Can we, thereforet infer as has been done by some scholars for other provinces,[1] that Gujarat was Aryanized or Sanskritized from a very early period?

[1] *History of Bengal*, 293.

Aryanization of Gujarat

We cannot form a very definite conclusion, but before arriving at one we should take into consideration:

(1) the traditional view about Aryan Culture in India,
(2) the view of the linguisticians as represented by GRIERSON,[1]
(3) certain recent hypothesis, e.g. of Mr. MUNSHI,[2]
(4) other extant ancient literature from Gujarat,
(5) the language of Gujarat inscriptions,
(6) the true nature of personal and place-names occurring in inscriptions.

The traditional or orthodox view is that India, particularly *Āryāvarta*, the Panjab and the *Madhyadeśa*, that is the Gangetic *doāb*, was the original home of the *Āryans*. They lived there from times immemorial. According to this view, therefore, it should not be at all surprising to find place and personal names in Sanskrit.

In direct contrast to the above is the view of the Western Orientalists and some Indians also, that Aryans entered India in several waves of invasions or immigration and gradually spread over the country. In support of the the invasion theory Dr. GRIERSON, the late eminent linguistician and Director of the Linguistic Survey of India, brought some linguistic considerations upon which he based his 'Inner' and 'Outer' classification of Indian languages:—

(1) The Inner sub-group formed by the Western *Hindī*, Panjabi, *Gujarātī*, *Bhīlī*, *Khāndeshī*, *Rājasthānī*.
(2) The Outer sub-group: *Lāhṇḍā*, *Sindhī*, *Marāṭhī*, *Oriyā*, *Bihārī*, Bengali, and Assamese.

Gujarātī, though regionally within the Outer Sub-group, was the only language which belonged to the Inner group. But since it showed some points of affinity with the languages of Outer sub-group, as *Sindhī*, it was probable that the original language of Gujarat was developed by Aryans of the Outer branch, but subsequently

[1] *Linguistic Survey of India*, I, i, 119.
[2] See MUNSHI, *The Early Aryans of Gujarāta*.

considerably changed by the later domination by Aryans of the Inner group.[1]

The Aryans of the Outer group might have entered Gujarat through Sind; those of the Inner group from the north-east. For example, the Puranic *Yādavas* who colonised Dwarka from Mathura, and the later *Śakas*, Gurjjaras and others who came principally from the north and north-east, as the earlier Aryans who entered India from the north-western passes or through Kashmir.

Mr. MUNSHI not agreeing with this theory of Aryan invasion however holds that there were two groups of Aryans. One of them had remained for long in the Sapta Sindhu. Before members of this group, such as the *Paraśurāma Bhārgavas* who later descended southwards, the other Aryan group represented by the Haihayas had already settled in the Narmada valley. This is an ingenious compromise between the orthodox view and that of GRIERSON, but leaves the impression that in some distant past, when it is not specified, Gujarat was non-Aryan, but later came to be Aryanized by stages.

Two place-names which I have not discussed before help us to fix the limits of the Aryan expansion in Gujarat. These are '*Arbuda*' and '*Bhillamāla*'. In inscriptions of Gujarat Arbuda occurs for the first time in two inscriptions of *Bhīma* II. In one of these it is called *Arbudācala Mahātīrtha*. In one of the inscriptions from Mount Abu itself, the village *Ābuya*, ostensibly derived from Arbuda, is mentioned.

Not only does Arbuda occur in these inscriptions from Gujarat and those of Rajputana and others of the early mediaeval dynasties of Northern India, in several *Purāṇas*, and the *Mahābhārata*, but it also occurs in some of the oldest hymns of the *Ṛgveda* as pointed out by Dr. Sten KONOW.[2] There it is described as the stronghold of *Śaṁbara*

[1] The theory of second or many invasions proposed by HOERNLE and RISLEY, that in the second wave or invasion the Aryans had no or few women with them, and therefore had married aboriginal women and thus modified their original type is not supported by later ethnologists like CROOKE and GHURYE, who have pointed out that there is no great physical change visible in the population from the Panjab to Hindustan and secondly the theory is entirely contradictory to the literary records of the Brahmins. (GHURYE, *Caste and Race in India*, 108).

[2] *Aryan Gods of the Mitani People*, Kristiania, 25 ff. Cf. for instance, *nir arbudasya mṛgayasya māyino niḥ parvatasya gā ājaḥ. Rg.* VIII. 3.19.

and other *dāsas* or *dasyus*, who descending the hill-top carried away the cows of and otherwise harassed the Aryans. Indra is, therefore, praised for treading down the great Arbuda, in short, for conquering Arbuda and its lord *S'aṁbara*.

The later tradition about Arbuda seems to be based on the Vedic version, viz. that the mountain was placed in its present position by Indra, who was considered to have cut it off from some big mountain range, perhaps the Himalaya. The current tradition is that Mount Abu was formerly a level plain stretching to the *Arāvalli*. At one place there was a spot of unfathomable depth. This was filled up by Nandivardhana, a son of *Himāchala*. Since he could not walk, he was carried on the back of a mighty snake Arbuda. This new mountain called after the snake was steadied by the foot of *Śiva*.

Whatever may be the truth in these traditions the meanings of '*Arbuda*', swelling, tumour, polypus, foetus, would well suit the traditional explanations.

KONOW examining the ethnological and linguistic data shows further that *S'aṁbara* and other *dāsas* or *dasyus* might have belonged to the aboriginal tribes such as *Niṣādas*, *S'abaras*, Bhils and others, *S'aṁbara* himself being of the Kolarian (or what is otherwise known as *Muṇḍā*), an Austro-Asiatic tribe. For even now these tribes, pushed off from the north, inhabit a large part of Central India, Chota Nagpur, Orissa, West Bengal and Madras Presidency, and speak *Muṇḍā* dialects, which belong to the Austric family of languages.[1]

According to the *Mahābhārata*[2] the country now known as Rajputana was the home of the *Niṣādas*, and so the country disappeared there.

[1] These were recognised by P. W. SCHMIDT who in 1906 proved the existence of a great family of languages, spread over a very wide area. This family is supposed to be different from the Dravidian languages of South India and is divided into two subfamilies: (1) Austro-Nesian, (2) Austro-Asiatic. The former included the languages of Madagascar, Indonesia and the Pacific islands; the latter is scattered over Nearer and Further India. In India it must have been once spoken over a much greater area than at present. Now the most southern forms of Munda speech are those spoken by the Savaras and Gadabas of N. E. Madras, then in Central India; in Mewar the dialect is called Nahali-kurku. For details see *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, i. p.34.

[2] III. 130.344, cited by MOTICHANDRA, *JUPHS*, XVI. II. 13

That the Bhils and *Kirātas* once lived in Rajputana and its neighbourhood, particularly its hilly tracts is shown by instances from later Rajput history, but particularly by the names *Bhillamāla*[1] *Kirātakūpa* and *Muṇḍasthala*. The first name occurs in the recently discovered Saindhava plates from Kathiawad. Though it is identified with the more well-known word '*Bhinnamāla*', a tract in Jodhpur State, in and perhaps before the 9th century, it was known as Bhillamala and not as Bhinnamala. The ending '*māla*', like the word 'Bhilla', is non-Sanskritic. The former is supposed to be a Dravidian word, derived from *meḍu*,[2] meaning upland, plateau, and even now used in Gujarati for the upper storey or floor. Thus both linguistically and culturally the word is non-Aryan indicating that in the distant past the country was inhabited by non-Aryan, very likely Austro-Asiatic, tribes. This period would go back to the early *Ṛgvedic* times.

If these interpretations of 'Arbuda' and '*Bhillamāla*' find further corroboration, then it would appear that Mt. Abu for some period formed the southernmost land frontier of the Aryans, advancing into India from the north. And further that the present Gujarat was not colonized by Aryans until some time later, unless we accept the theory that there was an invasion through Sind or directly from the sea, which occupied the coastal belt, and formed what is called the "outer band of Aryans".

Save this no references, even disparaging, are found to places in what is now called Gujarat and Kathiawad, in Vedic literature. We cannot say whether Gujarat was or was not outside the pale of *Āryāvarta* as Bengal and Magadha were. By or during the *Bhārata* war, however, Dwarka and Prabhas on the coast, and Mount Raivataka a little in the interior of the present Kathiawad peninsula acquire great prominence, the former due to the colonization, according to Puranic accounts, by the *Yādavas* from Mathura.

The other important place, Puranically associated with the Aryans is *Bhṛgukaccha* on the mouth of the Narbada. Here according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Devāsura* battle was fought at the end of the *Tretā* Yuga. But if this *Bhṛgukaccha* is a later sanskritization of the

[1] Dr. CHATTERJI draws attention to *Bhillcśata*. Bhil-slaughter-- modern Bhilsa.

[2] I am indebted to my colleague, Professor C. R. SANKARAN, for this explanation.

Austro-Asiatic Bharukaccha as noted above, then this Puranic allusion might be referring to the battle between the Aryans and the aboriginal population, chiefly non-Aryan and Austro-Asiatic in origin. It is a pity that we cannot fix even the probable period of these events and hence say positively when Gujarat was Aryanized.

Under these circumstances, when the earliest literature in Sanskrit was produced in Gujarat we cannot say. From the extant specimens it would appear that the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* is the earliest. But this poem, supposed to be produced at *Valabhī*, as well as the works produced at *Bhinnamāla* such as the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* by Jinasena written in A.D. 783, cannot go beyond the 7th century. Most of the later literature is in Prakrit, and *Apabhraṁśa*, and some only in Sanskrit.

We have thus to fall back upon inscriptions. Among these, excepting the *Aśokan* edicts at Girnar, and 200 to 300 years later the short memorial inscriptions from Cutch and two or three later *Kṣatrapa* records, all other inscriptions beginning with the famous *Rudradāman* inscription are in Sanskrit. What does this signify? It signifies that, already in the second century A.D., fine, chaste, classical Sanskrit had become a court language in Gujarat, and remained so for well-nigh a 1000 years and more. If any part of India is to be considered Aryanized earliest on the strength of epigraphic evidence alone,[1] it would be Gujarat, or more strictly *Surāṣṭra*. For the *Rudradāman* inscription is the earliest long Sanskrit inscription in India. Whether this early Sankritization or Aryanization was due to colonization of the coastal strip by the hypothetical outer and earlier band of Aryans of GRIERSON, I am unable to say. If further evidence for this

[1] It may be said that too much reliance is placed upon Sanskrit epigraphy, while long inscriptions of *Aśoka*, though in Prakrit, have been found in almost all the corners of India. To this it is to be replied that we have to make a distinction between Prakrit and Sanskrit records. Sanskrit was no doubt known, but was probably confined to the *Brāhmaṇas*, who used it for purely religious purposes. But it was under the *Kṣatrapas* of Malwa and *Surāṣṭra*, as evidenced by the *Rudradāman* inscription, that the language began to be used for secular purposes. Sylvain LEVI, from the occurrence of certain words e.g. *Svāmin*, *sugṛhita—nāman*, and *bhadramukha*, even thought that "it must be in the time and the court of the *Kṣatrapas* that the vocabulary, the technique and the first examples of the Sanskrit drama and everything connected with it were established; or in other words, those of the really literary Sanskrit literature" *IA* XXXIII. (1904), 169.

hypothesis is required, it may be sought in the *Brāhmaṇa* colonies at *Prabhās*, Girinagara and *Damaṇa*, to which *Usavadāta* made gifts of cows etc., and later at Bharukaccha, Jambusara, *Govaṭṭana*, Badarasiddhi, Udumbaragahvara etc., all the places on or almost on the coast of Gujarat.

Place-Names and Aryanization

What was the extent of the Aryanization? Did all people, the laity and the intellegensia alike, speak or understand Sanskrit? Though there is no satisfactory evidence on this point, it would appear that people, particularly the agriculturists and others perhaps did follow Sanskrit, though their language or the language of the common people must have been one of the dialects of Prakrit, which according to GRIERSON[1] had developed, along with the classical Sanskrit, from the earliest Aryan dialects, "the house language" preserved in *Ṛgvedic* hymns. If these latter are called Primary Prakrits, the language of *Aśokan* edicts and those referred to by *Patañjali* may be called Secondary Prakrits. For a large number of place-names are in pure Sanskrit,[2] whereas the rest are Sanskritized. We saw how some of the names of Iranians and *S'akas* were Sanskritized. Granting that people could follow Sanskrit, we can see two processes how the then existing names were Sanskritized.

In some cases a purely, perhaps a totally new Sanskrit name was given to a place after some prominent landmark or event. Just as we have now replaced *Bhāmburḍā*, a suburb of Poona, with Shivaji Nagar, and the old Girgam Back Road by Vithalbhai Patel Road. In other cases the existing names were Sanskritized. Witness how Andheri has been renamed *Āndhragiri*[3].

That such small but dominant culture stamps itself upon a large, ill-organized, (?) culture has been successfully demonstrated in the last 1000 years of India's history. In the end, of course, a resultant

[1] *Linguistic Survey of India* I. i. 121

[2] Cf. for instance Gujarati *Vaḍodarā* and Marathi *Baḍode*; both these forms according to Dr. KATRE, are derived from Sanskrit *Vaṭapadra*, and anticipate a stage when this form was current.

[3] "Or compare Calcutta; originally Kali-*Kātā*=(shell-lime place) has been Sanskritized into *Kālikṣetra*, owing to Kalighat now forming a part of Calcutta." S. K. C.

culture emerges, and that is what seems to have happened in Gujarat and elsewhere in India. For by the 12th-13th century even the language of the inscriptions becomes more and more Prakrit. It is possible that this was also due to other factors. Besides the weakening of the original Sanskrit culture, the increasing admixture of semi-barbaric people, pouring into Gujarat from the north and north-west and west as invaders, traders and so forth, and the appearance of new powerful forces under the Arabs, Afghans and Turks must have been responsible for this change. Had not Mahmud of Ghazna and Ghori upset the political equilibrium, Sanskrit might have remained a court language for some centuries more in Northern India. For as late as the 15th century when Muslim kings patronized Hindu poets, beautiful *Praśastis*-inscriptions were composed in Sanskrit as the recently published *Praśasti* of Mahmud *Beghaḍā* testifies.

In short inscriptions show the prevalence of Sanskrit as a court medium for conveying grants of villages to donees. Since in majority of cases the place-names are in Sanskrit or Sanskritized we cannot form a true idea of the language of the common people, and say how they called a particular place.

Formation of Gujarati

But a comparison of these inscriptional place-names with their modern equivalents would show what linguistic changes have occurred in these names, and what relation they have to the formation or structure of *Gujarātī*. In a few cases we might be able to detect the original pre-Sanskritized name. With this end in view I have classified[1] the identified place-names into five groups as follows:

Linguistic Changes

I. Place-names which have remained the same, such as Kaccha, Jambusara, *Navasāri, Sañjāna.*

[1] The above classification differs from a strictly linguistic classification, according to which we should have:

(i) *Tatsama* or Pure Sanskrit names—mostly recent.

(ii) Semi-*tatsama* names; these are slightly older.

(iii) Prakritic names; these are the oldest (and include *Deśī* elements).

(iv) Post-Islamic and British names.

II. Place-names which have dropped off or changed medial consonants and vowel, and retained initial syllable, e.g. *Kantāragrāma* > *Katārgām. Pālhaṇapura* > *Pālaṇpur. Rivaḍi* > *Ribaḍi.*

III. Place-names which have changed or dropped final syllable e.g. *Kāpikā*>*Kāvī.* Mottaka>*Motā. Lāṅgaṇaïjya*>*Lāṅghṇa*(e)j. Arbuda>*Ābuya*>*Ābu.*

IV. Place-names which have undergone much change. *Bharukaccha* > Bharuch. *Catuḥsāri* > *Chosār. Karpaṭavāṇijya*> *Kapaḍvanj. Siṁhapura*> *Sīhor. Varddhamāna*>*Waḍhvān. Aṇahilapāṭaka*>*Anāvāḍā.* Godrahaka>*Godhrā. Āmvalasāḍhi* > *Amalsād.*

V. Place-names which have a change in initial syllable. *Ahirāṇā* > Irana; Vahicara > Bechar.

These were submitted with the following queries to Dr. KATRE whose remarks are as under:

1. How is that some place-names have remained almost unchanged? Is it due to some inherent character in the formation of the word? or is it due to other extraneous causes e.g. political importance, constant use among the learned and literature?

2. Some place-names have changed considerably. No intermediate stages are known, but can we postulate them?

3. The explanation of linguistic changes has often been offered by BUEHLER and others with the help of modern *Gujarātī.* Instead can we throw light from an objective comparison between the inscriptional name and its present form on the evolution of the *Gujarātī* language?

4. Wherever the non-Sanskritic names exist, can we say whether they are related to any of the Prakrits and the nature of the language then current?

"The question now arises," says Dr. KATRE,"What is the link between the old and new place-names? We observe that a number of names remain almost unchanged, while a few change so imperceptibly as to amount to no change at all; a few others retain traces of the older nomenclature, while in a certain limited category no link seems to exist, or if any is indicated, it is so slight as not to be noticed.

It may here be recalled that proper names or *nomina propria* also form part of the vocabulary of a language, and as such are liable to all the

normal phonological changes which affect all vocables. In addition, by the special use of *nomina propria* applied to definite but limited objects, they are susceptible to peculiar changes which cannot normally be explained by comparative philology. These changes are purely phonetic and not phonological: phonetic changes are peculiar and have no basis of correspondences, while phonological changes are historical and render themselves to be studied from a comparative standpoint.

Turning once again to the earlier place-names it will be noticed that a majority of them are Indo-Aryan in character: Kaccha, *Ānandapura*, *Navasārikā* etc. These are purely old Indo-Aryan names, although Kaccha is a MIA incorporation into OIA vocabulary (*Kakṣa-*). A large number appear to be MIA in character: *Kāpura*, Gorajja, etc. or *Āṅgaṇavāṭaka*. In these examples MIA tendencies are seen in some phonological features. A word like *Deulavāḍā* represents the full MIA stage.

Nevertheless there is a fairly large residuary class of names which does not appear at first sight either as OIA or MIA. Our ancient grammarians would have classed them as *Deśī* words, while modern philologists might call them as loan words from non-IA dialects. Thus names like *Ḍoḍiyāpaṭaka*, *Ḍāṅgariiā*, *Phiṁcaḍi*, appear suspect as loan words of non-IA character. Further research may determine the ultimate source of these early names.

Now all these nomina, like other vocables, undergo phonological changes in course of time. If we consider the region where these changes have occurred, and pose the correspondences between definitely identified older and later place-names we shall be in a position to classify them into different categories, whatever be the ultimate source of such names.

The chief character of the changes affecting the phonology of the dialects of this region is as follows:

(1) Loss of final OIA consonants, the vowels *ṛ*, *ḷ*, and diphthongs *ai*, *au*, and loss of final vowel in the modern stage.

(2) Voicing of intervocalic single stops or ultimate loss of occlusion.

(3) Reduction of consonant clusters to double consonants, and further reduction to single stops etc. with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

This is the broad outline of the changes affecting phonology from OIA to MIA and NIA.

Judged by this touchstone, we can divide the names into three categories:

(1) Inherited from OIA or MIA.
(2) Loan words from OIA or MIA.
(3) Loan words from other language families.

Inherited Names

These divide themselves into two main classes which may be called *Tatsama* and *Tadbhava*. *Tatsamas* retain practically the same form throughout as in Kaccha> Kacch(a), the final *a* being not pronounced in NIA.

Tadbhavas show significant but normal changes in phonology as specified above (in general terms): *Navasārikā>Nav(a)sārī*

Here initial *na-*, *-va-*, *-sā-* remain unaltered while *rikā>rī* (through MIA *riā> iā > ī* normally in NIA of this region). A large number of words, however, do not correspond exactly : *Undirā >Undrā*.

Here *Undrā*, possibly for *Undara, shows a final *-rā* which cannot be from the *-ra* of Undara-. For phonologically we expect a form like Undir or Undar in Modern *Gujarātī*. This final *-rā* can, however, come from—*raka* of the older stage, so that we can postulate an **Undīraka* from which modern *Undrā* has come. Philology here helps us to restore the correct antecedent of the modern term which, however, differs from the old recorded name only by the pleonastic (redundant) suffix-*ka*.

A number of correspondences cannot be properly classed under the pure inherited forms or as loan-words. If today we go back to Sanskrit and borrow a word to express some new thought, object or item, in modern *Gujarātī* this word, now a loan, will become a part of *Gujarātī* vocabulary, and in course of time will undergo changes which affect other words of the language, with this difference: Whereas pure inherited elements are already free from certain combination of consonants, etc., the word possesses them by virtue of its being borrowed intact, and the changes will not actually correspond to those affecting inherited vocables in such characters. This class, therefore, is called semi-*tatsamas*; it may with equal force be called semi-*tadbhavas*. Thus we have *Vaṭapadra (ka) > Vaḍodrā*.

Now the combination-*drā* in the modern form may come from earlier -**darā*-, with a slurring of *a* in the prepenultimate position (**da ra a*) or it may be a conscious survival of the earlier-*dra* (*ka*)-. In the later case we have a semi-*tatsama*, in the former a pure inherited *tadbhava*.

There are a number of instances where the semi-*tatsama* nature of the names is never in doubt, since the peculiar combinations seen cannot be so easily derived from purely inherited characteristics:-

Aṅkaleśvara > *Aṅkleśvar* > or *Aṅklesar*. The first showing -*śv*- is semi-*tatsama* while the second showing -*s*- is purely inherited.

The stage at which a loan word enters into a NIA language can be approximately judged by the phonological changes which have affected it. But this is a purely linguistic study, involving technical discussions, which may be better left for investigation by specialists in that field. The same holds good for the etymologies of these names, especially when they are non-IA loan words.

For our practical purposes we may classify all the changes involved, but only on very general considerations."

Inscriptional Place-Names and their Modern Equivalents

I. PLACE-NAMES WHICH HAVE NOT CHANGED.

Inscription	*Old Name*		*Modern Name*
RUDRADAMAN	*Kaccha*	>	*Cutch (Kachchh)*
TRAIKUTAKA *c.* 450 A.D.	*Kāpura*	>	*Kāpur(a)*
KATACCURI *c.* 600 A.D.	*Ānandapura*	>	*Ānand (?)*
	Gorajja	>	*Goraj*
GURJJARA *c.* 650 A.D.	*Jaṁbusara*	>	*Jaṁbusar(a)*
	Toraṇaka	>	*Toran*
CALUKYA *c.* 700 A. D.	*Navasārikā*	>	*Nav(a)sārī*
RASTRAKUTA *c.* 800 A.D.	*Saṁkī*	>	*Sanki*
	Saṁjāṇa	>	*Sañjān*
	Tenna	>	*Ten*
CAULUKYA	*Āṁgaṇavāḍā*	>	*Āṁgaṇ(a)vāḍā*
	Ḍābhī	>	*Ḍābhī*

Inscription	*Old Name*		*Modern Name*
CAULUKYA	*Dhaïili*	>	*Dhauli*
	Kāḍā	>	*Kaḍā*
	Kamboīka	>	*Kamboī*
	Kāroḍā	>	*Karoḍā*
	Khāṁbhila	>	*Khāṁbhel*
	Kāmbalī	>	*Kāmbli*
	Kālharī	>	*Kālri*
	Kāliyāṇā	>	*Kāliāna*
	Sāṁpāvāḍā	>	*Sāṁpavāḍā*
	Rāṇāvāḍā	>	*Raṇāvāḍā*
	Līlāpura	>	*Līlāpur*
	Nausara	>	*Nausar*
	Phūlasara	>	*Phulsar*
	Sāṁparā	>	*Sāṁprā*
	Saṇḍera	>	*Saṇḍer*
	Sūnaka	>	*Sunak*

II. PLACE-NAMES WHICH HAVE UNDERGONE SOME CHANGE.

(A) Dropping of or change in Medial Consonants and Vowel and/or Initial Letters.

RASTRAKUTA	*Chorundaka*	>	*Choranḍ(a)*
	Ĵadrāna	>	*Ĵantrān*
	Kāṁtāragrāma	>	*Katārgam*
	Ruhṇāḍa	>	*Ruṇāḍ*
	Saṁbandhī	>	*Samadhi*
	Sinhā	>	*Sīnā*
	Bhūmilikā	>	*Ghūmlī* or *Bhūmlī*
	Dhenikā	>	*Dhinki (also Dhanīkā)*
CAULUKYA	*Ādhivāḍā*	>	*Ādivāḍā*
	Āhirāṇā	>	*Irāna*
	Bhāṁṣara	>	*Bhākhar(a)*
	Bhūharaḍā	>	*Bhutvāḍ*
	Corūyavāḍa	>	*Corvāḍ(a)*

Inscription	*Old Name*		*Modern Name*
(b) CAULUKYA	*Dāsayaja*	>	*Dāsaj*
	Deülavāḍā	>	*Delvāḍā*
	Dhāmaṇacchā	>	*Dhamāḍachā*
	Ḍoḍiyāpāṭaka	>	*Ḍoḍiavāḍā*
	Iṁdilā	>	*Indla*
	Pālhaṇapura	>	*Pālanpur*
	Naḍḍula	>	*Nāḍol*
	Muṇḍasthala	>	*Murthala*
	Hāṁsalapura	>	*Hāṁsalpur*
	Heṭhaüñjī	>	*Hetamji*
	Rājapuri	>	*Rājpur*
	Raünī	>	*Runī*
	Rupāpura	>	*Ruppur*
	Sākalī	>	*Sāṅkli*
	Sihakā	>	*Sika*
	Sūrayaja	>	*Suraj*
	Salakhaṇapura	>	*Saṅkhalpur*
	Trihati	>	*Tret*
	Uṁvaraṇī	>	*Umarni*
	Uṅdirā	>	*Undrā*
	Kisaraüli	>	*Kivarli*
	Uṁṭāüyā	>	*Utwa*

B. Change in a Single Medial Consonant

Ḍavāṇī > *Dabānī*, *Ḍucāṇā* > *Ḍumānā* (*?*), *Rivaḍi* > *Ribaḍi*.

C. Change in Final Vowel

PRE-CAULUKYA

GURJJARA	*S'uṇṭhavāḍaka*	>	*Sunthvāḍ*
	Vihāṇa	>	*Vihān*
CALUKYA	*Allūraka*	>	*Alurā*
	Āsaṭṭi	>	*Astgam*

RASTRAKUTA	*Ambakagrāma*	>	*Ambach*
	(*cf. Traikūṭaka,*	>	*Āmrakā*)
	Aṅkoṭṭaka	>	*Aṅkūt*
	Bharthāṇaka	>	*Bharthān*
	Erathāṇa	>	*Erthān*
	Dhāhadva	>	*Dhāvata*
	Jambuvāvikā	>	*Jāmbavā*
	Kāliyara	>	*Kaliāri*
	Kāpikā	>	*Kāvī*
	Māṅkaṇikā	>	*Māṅkani*
	Mottaka	>	*Moṭā*
	Variavi	>	*Variāv*
CAULUKYA	*Chhatrāharu*	>	*Chhatrāra*
	Ḍāṅgariā	>	*Ḍāṅgarwā*
	Lāṅgaṇaïjya	>	*Lāṅghaṇaj*
	Nīlacchī	>	*Nilki*
	Utaracha	>	*Utaraj*
	Vīsaṇavelī	>	*Visanvel*
	Indrāvaḍa	>	*Indrāḍ*
	Rāṇeloya	>	*Ranela* (?)

D. Dropping of the Final Vowel or Letter

Ābūya	>	*Ābu*
(*cf. Arbuda*)	>	*Ābu*
Gaṁbhutā	>	*Gāṁbhu*
Bhojuyā	>	*Bhojwa*
Ghāriāvali	>	*Ghāriāl*
Maṇḍali	>	*Māṇḍal*
Ṭimbāṇaka	>	*Ṭimāṇā*

III. PLACE-NAMES HAVING UNDERGONE MUCH CHANGE

A. Change in all the Syllables.

Pre-Traikūṭaka (*circa* 100 A.D.)

(*Cf. Bhārukacchānām*, Junnar Cave).

Kaṭaccūri

Bharukaccha > *Bharuch*

GURJJARA

Akrūreśvara > *Aṅkleśvar*
Aṅkuleśvara > *Aṅkleśar*
-do- in *Rāṣṭrakūṭa.*
Bharukaccha (*cf. Bilīśvara Baleśvar* > *Balesar*).
-do- in *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*
-do- in *Maitraka*
Jaravadra > *Jolvā*
Kheṭaka > *Kheḍā*
Saṅgamakheṭaka > *Saṅkheḍā*
Kāyāvatāra or *Kāyāvarohaṇa* > *Kāravān*
Kemajju > *Kimoj*
Nāndīpurī > *Nāndod*
Phalahavadra > *Phalod*
Śirīṣapadraka > *Sisodrā*
Vārṇera > *Walner*

CAHAMANA

Bhṛgukaccha
Akrūreśvara

CALUKYA

Osumbhel > *Umbhal*
Treyaṇṇa > *Ten*

RASTRAKUTA

Ambāpāṭaka > *Āmaḍpur* or *Āmrapura* (?)
Apūvalla > *Abuvel*
Āsalivalli > *Aslāli*
Brāhmaṇapallikā > *Bāmroli*
Chatuḥsarī > *Chosār*
Dhaḍayāsaha > *Dhuṇḍesā*
Dhannavallikā > *Dhānoli*
Govaṭṭana > *Kotnā*
Javalakūpakam > *Jolvā*
Jharivallikā > *Jaroli*
Karpaṭavāṇijya > *Kapaḍvanj*
Kāśahrada > *Kāsundrā*
Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa > *Kāthmandvā*
Liṅgataḍāgikā > *Saṅkartalao*
Uppalahatthaka > *Uplāt*
Vaḍavallī > *Vālod*
Vaḍapadraka > *Vaḍodrā*
Vagghāccha > *Vaghoḍiā*
Vyāghrāsa > *Vaghās*
Vāraḍapallikā > *Bārdolī*
Vavviyana > *Baben*
Vavulālā > *Babvolgām*
Vinhuchavalli > *Vijhol*
Kalluvī > *Kālū*
Purāvī > *Purṇā*

RASTRAKUTA

Vehichchā > *Vehara* (*Khādī*) N. of *Vāsaḍ*
Sīharakhī > *Serkhi*
Vahuṇādaśvā > *Bonad*
Tembarūka > *Timburvā*
Talapadraka > *Taḷodā*
Vaṭapadra > *Wardla* (?)
Liṅgavaṭaśiva > *Liṅgād*
Siṁhapura > *Sīhor*
Hastavapra > *Hāthab*
Varddhamāna > *Vaḍhvān* (*Waḍhvan*)

CAULUKYA

Aṇahilapāṭaka > *Anāvāḍā* or > *Anāv*(*a*)*ḍā*
Araṭhaïra > *Aithor*
Āṁvalasāḍhi > *Amalsāḍ*
(cf. *Badarasiddhi* > *Borsad*)
Citrakūṭa > *Chitoḍ*
Caṁḍāvasaṇa > *Chadāsan*
Darbhāvatī > *Dabhoï*
Dadhimatī > *Dehamaï*
Dadhipadra > *Dāhod*
Dalāïdra > *Dalod*
Dhavalakka > *Dholkā*
Ṭheḍhavasaṇa > *Ḍheḍāsan*
Dvārāvatī > *Dvārkā*
Ghāriyāvalī > *Ghariāl*
Godrahaka > *Godhrā*
Guṁḍāïka > *Gondau*
Ghaṇṭāpalī > *Ghantoli*
Staṁbhatīrtha > *Khaṁbhāt*
Tāladhvaja > *Talājā*
Taṇukoṭṭa > *Tanot*
Ṭiṁbāṇaka > *Ṭimāṇā*
Jonanagha > *Jornang*
Jīrṇadurga > *Junāgaḍh*
Kachāvalī > *Kacholi*
Kāṁvalaïili > *Kamlol*
Lāṭivadra > *Lāṭodrā*
Kirāṭakūpa > *Kirāḍu*
Kuïyala > *Kiol* or *Kiyal*
Kuṁbhāroṭaka > *Kāmrod*
Maṅgalapura > *Māṅgrol*
Mohaḍavāsaka > *Moḍāsā*
Nadūlaṭadāgikā > *Nādlāï*
Naṁdāvasaṇa > *Nandāsan*
Rājāsiyaṇī > *Rakhianā*
Riṇasīhavasaṇa > *Raṇāsan*
Satyapura > *Sāñchor*
Siṁhapura > *Sīhor*
Sirsāvi > *Sarasao*
Vāmanasthalī > *Vaṅth*(*a*)*li*
Valaïja > *Balej*
Varuṇaśarmma-kiyapadra > *Vaḍ*(*a*)*samā*

B. Change in the Initial Syllable.

CAULUKYA

Āhirāṇa > *Irāna*
Kuṣaloḍa > *Ukhlod*
Mahisāṇā > *Mehsānā*
(cf. Sk. *Mahiṣa*=Guj. *Bheṁs*(*a*))

GURJJARA

Dahithali	>	*Dethali*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	>	*Selvāḍā*
Bramāṇa	>	*Bāmaniya* (?)	*Tribha*	>	*Tarabh*
Umbara	>	*Bāgumbrā*	*Vālauya*	>	*Bālavā*
Kṣārvā	>	*Khārvā*	*Ubhaloḍa*	>	*Abhaloḍ*
			Vahichara	>	*Bechar*

CAULUKYA

Mehunā	>	*Mahunā*
Phīṁcaḍī	>	*Phechaḍī*

So it is not possible to say from a comparison between the inscriptional and modern place-names alone what the old language of Gujarat was. But a further study might reveal the elements that have crept into the existing language.

Administrative Systems

In the second lecture I reviewed briefly first the nature of epigraphic evidence on territorial units prevalent in ancient Gujarat and then by a detailed study reconstructed the territorial units existing in N. Gujarat during the Caulukya period. Their reconstruction and the comparison in their sizes and number with the modern units showed a fairly close resemblance. It is difficult to say whether such affinity between the old and new units will be discovered in other parts of India. For no studies of this nature have been made.

But from inscriptions found in other parts of India we can have a general idea of the administrative systems and particulary the nature of place-names existing elsewhere in India, and the way in which these differed from those in Gujarat.

I can refer to certain areas only; those which have come within my or my pupils' studies, and those about which scholars have already written. Such areas are parts of C.P., C.I., U.P., Rajputana, the Deccan, Karnataka and Bengal.

First, regarding the territorial or administrative units. As I have already observed in the second lecture and also before[1] from the Gupta period onwards India had a fairly common administrative system in which *rāṣṭra*, *viṣaya*, *bhukti*, *pathaka*, *āhāra*, and *grāma* formed the principal units. Some parts had *deśa* as the largest unit, and *maṇḍala*

[1] See *The Archaeology of Gujarat*.

in place of *rāṣṭra* or *viṣaya*. This depended upon the size and nature of the kingdom or empire. But besides these there were certain local units, used in one part and unknown elsewhere.

Thus in Gujarat- Kathiawad over and above the large units mentioned just now, we had *sthalī*, *prāpya* and *prāveśya* almost confined to Kathiawad. These are absent from Gujarat proper, the Deccan and Karnatak, C. I., C. P., U. P. and Bengal. In the last i. e. Bengal, from the Gupta time onwards some of the chief units were the *bhukti*, *viṣaya*, *maṇḍala*, *vīthi* and *grāma*.[1] Here we see the absence of *āhāra* and *pathaka*, but in their place a unit, called *vīthi*, which seems to be unknown to Gujarat. Later after the *Pālas*, three smaller units, *pāṭaka*, *caturaka* and *āvṛtti* came into prominence.[2]

But *āhāra* and *pathaka* however were current in C. P. and U. P.

In parts of C. P. and C. I. which were ruled by *Vākāṭakas*, the highest unit seems to have been the *viṣaya*; under it were *āhāra*, *bhoga* and *peṭha*. The unit *bhoga* is found once or twice in Eastern Gujarat, but *peṭha* seems to be a speciality of these parts and *Karṇāṭaka* and appears to be the ancestor of Marathi *Peṭh(a)*, now meaning a street, or rather a section of the city all over *Mahārāṣṭra*. Nearer home, in the Deccan and Karnataka, *raṭṭha* or *rāṣṭra*, it seems, was the largest unit in the earlier period. But after the 5th-6th century, *deśa* took its place,—though a unit *Goparāṣṭra* is mentioned once,—and under it in the descending order were *maṇḍala*, *bhukti*, *viṣaya*, *āhāra*, *pathaka*, *bhoga*, and *grāma*. Of course the order was not fixed. It varied from place to place or from ruler to ruler.

Rajputana had nearly the same territorial units as Northern Gujarat.

This very brief survey shows in what relation Gujarat stood in the domain of administrative systems to other parts of India. Future detailed studies, I hope, will bring forth more differences, if any, and at the same time the parallelisms not known hitherto.

Place-Name Patterns

Place-names, both ancient and modern, can be compared in greater detail with those of Bengal and the Deccan-*Karṇāṭaka* but my com-

[1] *History of Bengal*, 265.

[2] *Ibid.* 208

ments will be necessarily brief, limited only to the striking affinities and differences.

For Bengal we have the recent work of GOSWAMI alluded to by me before. The inscriptional place-names of the Deccan-*Karṇāṭaka* from about 500-1300 A. D. have been collected by Dr. A. V. NAIK, who has worked on the archaeology of these regions. The modern place-names have been gathered by my colleague Dr. KARVE who is studying them from sociological point of view. I am indebted to these scholars for their kindness in allowing me to use the material collected by them for a comparative study.

In the Deccan, as in Gujarat, almost all the place-names from the 5th century onwards are in Sanskrit or Sanskritized. These characteristics generally seem to persist till the end, i.e. up to the 14th century in inscriptions. Thus to take familiar examples, we have *Puṇya* and Punaka-*viṣaya* for *Puṇe* or Poona, *Darppapūḍikā* for *Dāpoḍī*, *Bheñsari* for Bhavsari or Bhosari; *Khambhagrāma* for *Khāmgam*, *Vorimagrāma* for Boree; *Dāḍimagrāma* for *Ḍolembā*, and *Ālandīya-grāma* for *Ālandī*; *Thiiira* for Theur; Araluva for Urli; *Pāḷatthāna-viṣaya* for Phaltan and *Muïlā-nadī* for the *Mulā* river. Thus a *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, 9th century, inscription accurately describes the topography of Poona and its vicinity, but in a vocabulary which is largely Sanskritized. Wherever the inscriptional names can be identified, the case will be found to be similar. Three centuries later the *Śilāhāra* records called *Thāṇā* as *Sthānaka*, but as old Marathi is used in the actual grant portion, many of the place-names retain their existing Prakrit forms.

Are we to understand that till the 10th-11th century Sanskrit was the court language in the Deccan and understood by one and all?

With *Karṇāṭaka* the case is slightly different. Till about the 5th century, the earlier Prakrit and the contemporary Sanskrit inscriptions of the Kadambas and others mention place-names which do not appear to be characteristically *Kannaḍa*. But the *Kannaḍa* influence begins to appear from the 7th-8th century onwards[1], so that the actual grant portion, including the names of persons and places can be easily described as old *Kannaḍa*.

[1] See NARASIMHIA, *A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions*, 1941; and GAI, *Historical Grammar of Old Kannaḍa*, 1946.

A few examples of the place-name endings will illustrate the point. In the Deccan place-names we have the endings *pura*, *nagara*, *vāṭa* or *vāṭikā*, *vāḍā*, *vāḍi*, *valli*, *pallikā*, *sthāna*, *-iya*, *kā* or *ka*; in *Karṇāṭaka*, we have a few *puras* and *nagaras* with the principal name in *Kannaḍa* or at times in Sanskrit, but a large majority of places like *Aṇṇigere*, *Iṭṭage*, and endings with *ḷi* or *ḷḷi*, and *paṭṭi*. Not only the general ending *grāma* is uncommon, but many of the so-called Sanskrit suffixes or endings are rare, and the names themselves are in *Kannaḍa*. In this respect *Karṇāṭaka* seems to have shaken off the Sanskrit influence much earlier or imbibed it less than either the Deccan or Gujarat.

But much more surprising appears to be the fact that in the Deccan epigraphy there is not a single place-name after the 6th century with the ending *padra*, *vadra* or *vasaṇa* and a few only with *pāṭaka*, *pallī* and *valli*. *Padra* is found in an early *Sātavāhana* inscription, once for a place in the present Nasik District and the other time for a place in the present Thana District. Are we to assume that the *padra*-belt of place-names belongs to Gujarat and other Northern regions, and had spread in the 3rd-4th century up to Nasik in the south? The conclusion seems to be very startling and I would leave it as it is, unless further corroboration is available. If it is confirmed, it would further show that the writers of epigraphs did not so tamper with the then existing names, while sanskritizing them, as to change them completely, but remained true to their inherent regional forms. For place-name endings in *-padra* are found in the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* inscriptions from Gujarat, while they do not occur in those from the Deccan and *Karṇāṭaka*.

Another significant difference is that already in the Deccan-*Karṇāṭaka* records of the 8th-9th century we find the place-names ending in *é*, for example, *Kiṇayigé*, *Karaṇḍigé*, for places round about Kolhapur; *Cāṁḍigé*, *Miriñjé*. This ending *-é* is a characteristic feature of the modern place and personal (surnames) names in the Deccan. Since in inscriptions it largely occurs in place-names in and on the *Karṇāṭaka* border, it would not be surprising if it is ultimately proved to be of *Karṇāṭaka* or Dravidian origin.

Rarely the *-é* ending is found in the old and as well as new place-names of Gujarat.

The Deccan being a hilly and plateau region, place-names indicating or bearing on its physiographic features will be found. We would await

with interest the results of Drs. KARVE's and NAIK's studies about place-names of the Deccan, when further detailed comparison with Gujarat place-names will be possible.

In Bengal the inscriptional evidence regarding place-names does not take us at present beyond the 6th century A.D., though we have a limestone plaque from *Mahāsthān* (of the Mauryan period), which mentions *Puṁḍaṇagala* (*Puṇḍranagara*). But from 400 A.D. the evidence is available in an unbroken chain right up to 1200 A.D. Here too Mr. GOSWAMI has noted that many of the place-names are in Sanskrit or sanskritized with a good sprinkling of *Deśī* names, though he has not traced their development, nor said whether in the later records we get more Prakrit names than in the earlier period. He has also not first clearly classified and grouped the various endings. But analysing the names we get the following endings: (I have omitted some where I was doubtful of the true ending).

Pāṭaka > *Pāḍā* > *Pāṛā*
Vāṭaka
Vṛndaka
Sikā
Gohālī > Goal
Puñjaka
Kuṇḍa > *Koṇḍa*
Avakāśikā
Vilāṭi > *Vāḍī* (?)
Joṭikā or *Yoṭa* > *Joṭa* > Jola
Vāṭa
Carmmaṭa > *Cammaḍa* > *Cāmṛā*
Vāḍī
Roṭṭikā
Voraka > Vola > Pola
Pallikā
Valli
Teṅkari
Khāḍi
Kaṇḍi
Ḍāhara
Thāna
Nagara
Khāmbhava > Khabha
Bhiṭṭa > *Bhiṭṭi* or *Bhiṭā*
Gaccha
Guḍi
Vola
Pokhira
Pāla
Bhoga
Muṇḍa
Dvipa.

Evén after the omission of a few doubtful ones, the list is much larger than that of Gujarat inscriptional place-names. Among the Sanskrit endings common with those from Gujarat are *pura*, *nagara*, *pāṭaka*, *vāṭaka*, *vāṭa*, *vāḍī*, *pallikā*, *valli*. There is the total absence of *padra* or *vadra* and *vasaṇa*, or even *sara*, though there are many others

for lakes, ponds and other types of drainage. *Pallī* and *valli* are comparatively very few. *Pāṭaka* becomes *pāḍā* or *pāṛā* in modern Bengali.

But among the rest, a fairly large number are characteristic of Bengal, a land of large rivers, and numerous large and small water-courses, and a land which was for long beyond the pale of Aryan civilization, and even now has on its north-eastern as well as on its western and southern borders pockets of primitive tribes, probably aboriginals of the land.

Expressive of its varied drainage system are the endings *Joṭikā* or *Yoṭa*, modern *Joṭa* or *Jola*; *Joḍ*, *Juḍi*, *Juli*; *Khāḍi* > *Khāri*, (ditch); *Kuṇḍi*, *Ḍāhara* and *Pokhara* (pond), *Avasikā* or *Sikā* (channel) and *Vāpika*; so also are the expressions "*Sataṭapadmāvāṭi*, house on the bank of *Padmā*", signifying the way how a large number of people live on the river; indicative of other types of homesteads are the endings *Bhiṭṭi*, *Bhiṭi* or *Bhitā* and of the marshy character of the land are the endings—a large number—*Viḷati* or *Vāḍī*; of Bengal's extensive fields *Voraka* > *Vola* > *Pola*; its groves and forests, *Puñjaka*, *Gaccha*, and *Vṛndaka*; of its hills and hillocks endings like *Teṇkari* and *Kuṇḍa* > *Koṇḍa*.

Correlating some of the ancient place-name endings with modern Bengali place-names, GOSWAMI finds that "the endings *jola*, *joli*, *joṭa*, *joṭikā* meaning channel, water-course, river-water are quite abundant specially in the districts of West Bengal"; so also the place-names with the endings in *kuṇḍa*, *kuṇḍi* or *koṇḍa* (high land). Modern place-names in deltaic Bengal abound in names of various fishes, one of the most common dishes of the people.

Since I am not dealing with modern place-names, it is not necessary to follow further Mr. GOSWAMI's studies, but it is necessary to note his conclusion that many of the endings show Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burmese affinities. Thus *jola*, *bhiṭṭi* or *bhiṭi* (house), *guḍḍi*, *gaḍḍa*, *guḍi*, *pola* and *vola* (field), *kuṇḍa* (hill or hillock) are similar to or identical with words in the Dravidian languages, Tamil, Telugu and *Kannaḍa*.

Those ending in *muṇḍa* or *ḍa* betray Austro-Asiatic or *Muṇḍā* or Kolarian influence, whereas words *cō* or *ca* meaning water are supposed to be of Tibeto-Burman origin.

These place-name studies reveal how Bengal, which according to later Vedic literature was not Aryanized for a long time, in spite of its later rapid Aryanization, still retains many of its varied non-Aryan traits; while Gujarat and the Deccan show a greater degree of Aryanization. Bengal, being nearer to the primitive cultures of the Far East and even now surrounded by these, has more of the non-Aryan Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian elements, while Gujarat on account of its proximity to the Northern Aryan culture has a preponderance of its elements. However, some names and name-endings as shown above do point to an earlier (?) Austro-Asiatic cultural phase in Gujarat.

Prehistoric Archaeology also seems to favour this view. For the Stone Age industries of the *Sābarmatī*, *Narmadā*, Orsang and Karjan valleys, most probably of the Middle Pleistocene period, the geological period when man first came to live in what is now called Gujarat, show such resemblance to the geologically earlier South Indian industries that in our present state of knowledge it appears that Early Man with his Stone Age culture came to Gujarat from South India.

Personal Names

Personal names from inscriptions from other parts of India have not been so far studied. My studies of the Deccan personal names of the early centuries of the Christian era incline me to the view that these names,—the sources of which are the donatory inscriptions at Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhgaya and Mathura—which were mostly inspired by the new faiths, Jainism and Buddhism, or the existing Rudra and *Nāga* cult will show more or less the same features as shown by the Deccan names found in the caves in the Western Ghat, and at Amaravati, *Jagayyapeṭṭa* and *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* in *Āndhra*.

After the 4th century the names are mostly of *Brāhmaṇas* and are in Sanskrit. But here too the *Karṇāṭaka* inscriptions of the 6th century and later show distinct *Kannaḍa* touch. Whether these or inscriptions from other parts of India will be so rich in names of the common people as some of those of Gujarat, I cannot say off-hand. Very probably not. But these when collected and studied will throw additional light on the results obtained by place-name studies.

Corroboration from other Sources Necessary

The study of inscriptional places and peoples has thrown light on several aspects of ancient and early mediaeval culture of Gujarat and their corresponding modern counterparts. But this light has been from one side only. What is necessary is to make the subjects discussed in these lectures more exhaustive and comprehensive. Then only we shall know how far the conclusions or suggestions arrived at are wrong and need modification.

New Lines of Investigation

Actual field work, visit to every village identified or now mentioned in revenue and postal directories is necessary. The investigator should note in this survey the physical, geographical, or traditional causes which are supposed to be responsible for the name of the place visited. He should also note the different ways in which the name is pronounced and written, by the various communities inhabiting the village.

Side by side with these we must have a corpus of place-and personal names occurring in early mediaeval Sanskrit and Prakrit literature and another similar corpus from Arabic, Persian, and 16th century and later *Gujarātī* and *Marāṭhī* and *Moḍi* papers of the Maratha period, and the early maps prepared during the East India Company's period.

Collection of the data from all these sources of the post-thirteenth century and the pre-thirteenth century inscriptional and literary data will give us a regular series of names of places and peoples, wherein the historian and the linguistician will find the missing intermediate forms so necessary for the true reconstruction of cultural history of a region.

Attention should also be devoted to the collection of surnames by castes and sub-castes, noting wherever possible the original, traditional or otherwise, place of residence and the profession followed by the members, say, 50 or preferably 100 years ago. Such a study alone can reveal the various social and cultural factors underlying a surname. For welcome as is the study of *Gujarātī* surnames by Mrs. Vinodini NILAKANTHA, it does not go far enough.

Cognate to this is the study of *Brāhmaṇas*. As I have said previously WILSON's and ENTHOVEN's study, admirable as they were for the period

when they were written, give us but few details. Since these pioneers wrote, good work is being done by the School of Sociology, but probably for want of suitable students the work is very slow. Unless it can be expedited and the several *Brāhmaṇa* sub-castes systematically surveyed, followed at the same time by their anthropological survey, as is being done in the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, no fruitful results will be obtained. Meanwhile the evidence is fast disappearing or being more and more contaminated.

So much for the semi-linguistic, historico-geographical, sociological and anthropological studies. I turn now to the investigation of history through archaeology. Students of Gujarat's historic archaeology know that very little is known about Southern and Central Gujarat, whereas we do know something of Northern Gujarat and Kathiawad through the surveys of surface monuments in the last century by BURGESS and COUSENS.

How are we to search for fresh old monuments? Either there must be some clues which when followed up may reveal the hidden or even surface monument and its true historical value or there must be a systematic survey, taluka by taluka, as Mr. GADRE of the Baroda Archaeological Department was doing up to last year since 1934, but which is now stopped for want of assistants. This work is both costly and long.

Here the inscriptions can help. They sometimes refer to a temple or other monument erected at a certain place. If this place is identified, then a visit to the place will most probably lead to the discovery of the monument. Even where no monument is mentioned in inscriptions, it would be worth while to investigate all those places which have been mentioned and identified. The identifications give invaluable clues as to the antiquity of the place, and in the absence of regular village-to-village surveys, the only and the most important clues. A personal visit to these places may show, besides surface monuments, in many cases the ancient mounds. The study of these mounds, the debris strewn over them, might lead us to ancient potsherds, the most indestructible and important evidence of the once existing habitation at the place.

The present study of place-names has already brought to light a number of such places in Southern, Central, and Northern Gujarat and

Kathiawad. These should now be visited and systematically investigated. The investigator need not confine himself merely to the archaeological account of the place. He should interest himself in the complete cultural history of the place. Previous training and interest in the subjects dealt with here should enable him to prepare a full case-history of the areas he visits. These will form the basis for all subsequent archaeological, linguistic and sociological investigations.

It must have been evident that my studies have revealed only a few facets, in some cases very dimly indeed, of Gujarat's past culture through historical and cultural geography and ethnography. These must needs be supplemented soon by several field surveys.

When and whether the regional Universities will come into existence one does not know. But it is not too much to hope that various research institutions, besides the University of Bombay, will make provisions for these archaeological, sociological and linguistic studies. If started in the near future on a well-planned scheme and worked out systematically by a trained body of workers, we shall have in a decade or so the true basis for writing a comprehensive history of Gujarat and other regions.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF PLACE-NAMES FROM CAULUKYA INSCRIPTIONS AND THEIR IDENTIFICATION

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Ābuya -grāma	EI. VIII.222.	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat	*Ābu*
Ādhīvāḍā -grāma in *Varddhi-pathaka*	IA. VI. 196-99	*Jayaṁta-siṁha* V.S. 1280	N. Gujarat	*Ādivāḍā.*
Ahada in *Medapāṭa - Maṇḍala*	AIOCR. VII. 643	*Bhīma* II	Udaipur	*Ahaḍa*
Āhirāṇā -grāma in *Viṣaya* and *Daṇḍāhī-* pathaka.	IA. VI. 208-10	*Tribhuvana-pāla* V.S. 1299	N. Gujarat	*Irāṇā*
Āikayikā -grāma in Kaccha-*maṇḍala*	IA. VI. 193-94	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1086	Cutch	*Ekaliyu*(?) (Lakhpat)
Ākavalīyā -grāma in *Surāṣṭra -maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII. 112-114	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1266	S. Kathiawar	*Ānkala* (?) (*Junāgaḍh*)
Ākhī -grāma	EI. VIII. 219-29	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajaputana N. Gujarat	Not identified. Could it be connected with Nakhi lake?
Ālaviḍagāmva -grāma in *Ā*(*mā*?) *khulagāmva - grāma* in *Pūrṇa-* pathaka in *Narmadā-taṭa-maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII. 82-84	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1231	Central Gujarat	Not identified.
Aṇahilapāṭaka -nagara	IA. X. 159-60	*Jayasiṁha* V.S. 1196	N. Gujarat	*Anāv*(*a*)*ḍā*
Do	IA, XI. 71	*Bhīma* II	Do	Do
Do	Do 242	*Arjunadeva* V.S. 1320	Do	Do
Aṇahilapāṭaka -pura	BPSI. 184	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1225	Do	Do
Śrīmat Aṇahilapura	EI. VIII. 219-29	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	Do	Do
Śrīmat-Aṇahilapura	RLARBP. 328, 31. 33, 41, 44	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	N. Gujarat	Do

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Śrīmat-Aṇahilapāṭaka	IA. 41. 21 V.S. 1348.	*Sāraṅgadeva* V.S. 1348	Do	Do
Śrī-Ānanda-nagara	BPSI. 184	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1225.	Do	Vadnagar (?)
Ānaṁda-pura	EI. I. 299	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1208.	Do	Do.
Do	EI. XIX. 243	Siyaka-V.S. 1005	Do	
Do	HIG. III. 101.	*Sāraṅgadeva*	Do	Do
Do	Ibid. 97	Do	Do	Do
Śrīmat-Ānaṁda-pura	EI. I. 317	*Karṇa* I	Do	?
Āṅgaṇavāḍā -*grāma*	IA. VI. 203-4	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	N. Gujarat	*Aṅgaṇavāḍā* (Anganwara)
Araṭhaüra -*grāma* in *Daṇḍāhī* -pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	*Tribhuvanapāla* V.S. 1299	Do	Aithor
Śrīmat-Arbuda	EI. VIII. 219-29	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287.	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat.	Mt. Abu
Arbudācala-mahātīrtha	RLARBP. 328, 31, 33, 41, 44	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	Do	Do
Ariśata -pathaka	IA. VI. 202	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287.		Not identified
Āśāpalli in Varddhi -pathaka (?)	IA. VI. 210-12	*Vīsāladeva* V.S. 1317.		Do. Perhaps Aslali.
Āśviliyā in *Ubhaloḍa* pathaka in *Godrahaka-mahāmaṇḍala*	IA. X. 159-60	*Jayasiṁha* V.S. 1196 and 1202	Central Gujarat	*Simnālayā* (Godhra)
Āvala / *Āmvali* —*sāḍhi*— in *Nāgasārikā-viṣaya* in *Lāṭa deśa*	JBBRAS. 26. 250	*Karṇa* I V.S. 1131 also Saka 996	S. Gujarat	*Amalsāḍ*
Avantī in *Mālava-Kānyakubja Viṣaya*	BPSI. 186	V.S. 1225	Malwa C. India	Ujjain

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Avayāṇija -grāma in *Cālīsā -pathaka.*	IA. VI. 199. 200	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1283	N. Gujarat	Not identified.
Bāṁbhaṇavāḍā in *Gaṁbhūtā* -pathaka	Important Inscriptions 73.	*Mūlarāja* II V.S. 1232	Do	*Brāhmaṇavāḍā* (*Chansma Taluka*)
Bhaḍānā -grāma in *Gaṁbhūtā* -pathaka	HIG. III 198	*Jayasiṁha* V.S. 1193	Do	Not identified.
Bhadrāṇaka in *Śrī Saurāṣṭrakadeśa*	BPSI. 204-5	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1275	South-west Kathiawad	*Bharānā* (Jamnagar).
Śrī Bhāillasvāmi mahā-12-maṇḍala	IA. XVIII. 347-48.	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1229	Malwa Central India	Bhilsa
Bhālibhāḍā -grāma	EI. VIII. 222	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana	Not identified
Bhāṭuṭṭa -padra-nagara	PO. I. ii. 44	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1210	Do	*Bhāṭunda Bhākhar*
Bhāṁṣara -grāma in *Viṣaya* and *Daṇḍāhi* pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10.	*Tribhuvana-pāla.* V.S. 1299	N. Gujarat	*Bhākhar*
Bhojuyā -grāma in *Varddhi* -pathaka	IA. VI. 205-6	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1295	N. Gujarat	*Bhojwa*, 3 miles northwest of Viramgam.
Brahmapurī -grāma on or near the *Hiraṇyā-nadī*	BPSI, 186	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1225	Southwest Kathiawad	Not identified
Brahmapurī in Varddhi -pathaka	IA. VI. 210-12	*Vīsaladeva* V.S. 1317	N. Gujarat (?)	Do
Bhṛṁgārika-64-pathaka	IA. XVIII. 347	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1229	Malwa Central India	Do
Bhūharaḍā -grāma in *Surāṣṭra -maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII. 112-14	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1266	Southern Kathiawad	*Bhutwār*(*d*)5miles west of Jetalsar.
Bramāṇa	EI. VIII. 220	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat	Can it be *Bāmaniya* (Sudasna)?
Brāhmaṇa -pāṭaka	IA. XVIII. 82. 4	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1231	Central Gujarat	Not identified
Cālīsā -pathaka	IA. VI. 199-200	*Bhīma* II	N. Gujarat	Do
Caṁḍāvasaṇa -grāma in *Viṣaya* and *Daṇḍāhī* pathaka.	IA. VI. 208. 10	*Tribhuvana-pāla.* V.S. 1299	N. Gujarat	*Chadā*(*ra*)*san*
Candrāvatī	EI. VIII. 219	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	N. Gujarat	Chandrawati
Cāṁdrāpallī in *Gaṁbhūtā* -pathaka	HIG. III 199. 200	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1202.	N. Gujarat	(Not identified)

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Chatrāharu -grāma in *Vālauya*-pathaka	IA. VI. 203-4	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	Do	Perhaps *Chhatrāra* or *Chhatral*
Chiṁdriyāla(-grāma) in *Dhāṇadā-āhāra*-pathaka	EI. XXI. 172	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1120	Do	Not identified
Citrakūṭa	BPSI 227	*Rāmadeva* V.S. 1352	Rajputana	Chitod
Coḍa	PO. I. ii.50	*Kumārapāla* V. S. 1218	Do	Chola
Coruyāvāḍa	BPSI 158	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1202	S.W. Kathiawad	Chorwad.
Cūnnarī -grāma	IA. VI. 210 -12	*Vīsaladeva* V.S. 1317	N. Gujarat	Not identified
Cuyāṁtija -grāma in *Cālīsā* -pathaka.	IA. VI. 199. 200	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1283	Do	Do.
Dāṅgaraiiā -grāma in *Daṇḍāhī* pathaka	IA. VI 208. 10	*Tribhuvanapāla* V.S. 1299	N. Gujarat	*Dāṅgarwa*
Darbhāvatī in Gurjara *-maṇḍala*	RLARBP. 328, 31, 33, 41,44.	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	Central Gujarat.	Dabhoi.
Dāsayaja -grāma in *Viṣaya -Daṇḍāhī* - pathaka.	IA. VI. 208. 10	*Tribhuvanapāla* V.S. 1299	N. Gujarat	*Dāsaj.*
Ḍavāṇī -grāma	EI. VIII. 221	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat	Dabani, 7 miles northwest west of Delvada, Mt. Abu.
(*Laghu*) *Ḍābhī -grāma*	EI. I. 317	*Karṇa* I V.S. 1148	N. Gujarat	*Ḍābhi*
Dadhimatī -nadī	IA. X. 159.	*Jayasiṁha* V.S. 1196	Central Gujarat	*Dehamaī*
Dadhipadra	Do	Do	Do	*Dāhod* or Dohad.
Do *-maṇḍala*	Do	Do	Do	Do
Ḍāhaḍa	EI. VIII. 221	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287.		Not identified.
Dālaüdra -grāma in Varddhi-pathaka.	IA. VI. 206-8	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1296	N. Gujarat	Dalod
Daṇḍāhī -pathaka	IA. XI. 71-3	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1256.	Do	*Daṁdāhi* of Mirat-i-Ahmadi.
Do	IA. VI. 208	*Tribhuvanapāla* V.S. 1299	Do	Do

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Devāū -grāma in Varddhi -pathaka	IA. VI. 201-3	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	N. Gujarat	Not Identified
Deülī grāma in *Bhāïllāsvāmi* (12).	IA. XVIII. 344	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1229	Malwa C. India.	Do
Deülavāḍā -grāma in *Gaṁbhūtā* -pathaka	IA. VI. 194-5	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1262	N. Gujarat	Delwara (*Delvāḍā*)
Deülavāḍā -grāma on *Śrī*-Arbuda	EI. VIII. 222	*Bhīma* II V. S. 1287	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat	*Delvāḍā*, Mt. Abu.
Devanagara for (*Somanāthadeva-* nagara).	BPSI. 184	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1225	S.W. Kathiawad	Somnath.
Dhāmaṇacchā -grāma in *Talabhadrikā* -36 in *Nāgasārikā -viṣaya, Lāṭadeśa.*	JBBRAS. 26. 250	*Karṇa* I Saka 996	S. Gujarat	*Dhamadachā* (*Dhārāchha*).
Dhāṇadā -āhāra -pathaka	EI. XXI. 171-72	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1126	N. Gujarat	Dhanda about 10 miles east of Palanpur.
Dhaṇāra grāma in *Satyapura-maṇḍala*	EI. X. 78-9	*Mūlarāja* I V.S. 1051	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat	Dantwara (?) Sanchor, Jodhpur.
Dhārāpurī	BPSI. 186	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1225	Malwa C. India.	*Dhārā*
Dharavadrikā in Kaccha-*maṇḍala*	IA. VI. 193-4	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1086	Cutch	Dhared (?) Bhuj, Cutch.
Dhaülī -grāma	EI. VIII. 220	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat	Dhauli 8 miles west south-west of *Delvāḍā*
Dhavalakka in Gurjara-*maṇḍala*	RLARBP. 328, 31, 33, 41, 44.	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	Central Kathiawad	Dholka
Ḍheḍha-vasaṇa in *Varddhi -pathaka*	IA. VI. 206.8	*Bhīma* II V. S. 1296	N. Gujarat	*Ḍheḍāsan*
Ḍoḍiyā -pataka in *Gaṁbhūtā -pathaka*	IA. VI.	*Jayaṁta-siṁha* V.S. 1280.	Do	*Ḍoḍivāḍā* 12 miles southwest of *Gāṁbhu*
Ḍohalikā -grāma in *Daṇḍāhī -pathaka*	IA. XI. 71-3.	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1256	Do	Not identified
Ducānā in *Varddhi -pathaka*	IA. VI. 205-6	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1295.	Do	*Dumāna*

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Dūdhukha -grāma in Varddhi -pathaka	IA. VI. 210-12	*Vīsaladeva* V.S. 1317	Do	Might be Dudha about 6 miles west of Patan.
Dvārāvatī	PO. 2.227	Arjunadeva V.S. 1320.	S.W. Kathiawar	Dwarka.
Gaṁbhūtā - pathaka	HIG. III. 198	*Jayasiṁha* V.S. 1193	N. Gujarat	*Gāṁbhu*
Do	Ibid. 199. 200	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1202	Do	Do
Do	Imp. Inscr. 73	*Mūlarāja* II V.S. 1232.	Do	Do
Do	IA. VI. 194-5	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1263.	Do	Do
Gābhalā-grāma in *Ḍīlavika*	EI. II. 26.		N. Gujarat	(perhaps near Dilmal).
Ghadahaḍikā -12 in *Kaccha -maṇḍala*	IA.VI. 193-4	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1086	Cutch	Ghadhada or Ghad (Bhuj).
Ghaṇṭāpalli	AIOCR I (Poona)	Bhoja, (Paramara) V.S. 1003.	Central Gujarat	Ghantoli (*Sankheḍā*)
Ghaṁṭelāṁā -grāma in *Surāṣṭra-maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII. 112-4	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1266	Central Kathiawad	*Ghatila* (?) 3 miles south-east of Shapur.
Ghāīryāvali -grāma in *Gaṁbhūtā* - pathaka	IA. VI. 194-5	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1263	N. Gujarat	(*mīṭhī*) *Ghārial*
Ghūsaḍī -grāma in *Varddhi*-pathaka	IA. VI. 205-6	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1295	Do	Perhaps the original site of modern Viramgam
Godrahaka -mahā-maṇḍala	IA. X. 159-60	*Jayasiṁha* V.S. 1195	Central Gujarat.	Godhra
Grāmapādra (or *Padra -grāma*) in *Dhāṇadā-hāra*-pathaka	EI. XXI. 171-2	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1120	N. Gujarat	Cannot be traced.
Gundāiika -grāma in Satyapura-*maṇḍala*	EI. X. 78-9	*Mūlarāja* I V.S. 1051	S. Rajputana	Gondau (Sanchor).
Guṁthāvāḍā -grāma in *Vālauya* - pathaka	IA. VI. 203-4	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	N. Gujarat	(Not traced so far).
Gūrjjara - maṇḍala	IA. X. 159-60	*Jayasiṁha* V.S. 1196	Reference in Dohad Inscr. C. Gujarat.	

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Do	BPSI. 186	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1225		
Gurjjara-maṇḍala	RI.ARBP. 328, 31, 33, 41, 44.	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	Ref. in Girnar Inscr. Kathiawad	
Gurjjara-maṇḍala	BPSI. 227	*Rāmadeva* V.S. 1352	Ref. in Cambay Inscr.	C. Gujarat
Haṇḍāüdrā -grāma	EI. VIII. 221	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana	*Undwaria* (Mt. Abu).
Hāṁsalapura -grāma in *Varddhi*-pathaka	IA. VI. 201-2	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	N. Gujarat	*Hāsalpur*
Hānīyāṇi -grāma in *Varddhi*-pathaka	IA. VI.	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	Do	*Nāviāṇi* 2 miles southwest of Hasalpur.
Hiraṇyā -nadī	BPSI. 186	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1225	S. W. Kathiawar	Hiran river.
Heṭhaüṁjī -grāma	EI. VIII. 222	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana	Hetamji 2 miles s. of Delvada, Mt. Abu.
Hurmuja (coast of)	IA. XI. 242	Arjunadeva	Persian Gulf.	Hurmuz
Ilā in *Dhāṇadādhāra*-pathaka	EI. XXI. 171-2	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1120	N. Gujarat	"Not Ilol as suggested", Palanpur
Iṁdilā -grāma in *Gaṁbhūtā*-pathaka	IA. VI. 194-5	*Bhima* II V.S. 1263	N. Gujarat	Indla
Iṁdrāvaḍa in *Viṣaya* and *Daṇḍāhī*-pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	*Tribhuvanapāla* V.S. 1299	Do	*Indrād*
Iṭilā -grāma in *Gaṁbhūta*-pathaka	IA. VI. 196-8	*Jayaṁtasiṁha* V.S. 1280	Do	
Joranagha -grāma	Bharatiya Vidya I.I	*Cāmuṇḍa* V.S. 1033	Do	*Jornag*
Śrīmat Jāṅgala	BPSI. 186	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1225		
Jīrṇadurga	IA. XV. 360	Mehara *Ṭhepaka* V.S. 1386	Kathiawad	*Junāgaḍ(h)*
Kachāvali in *Talabhadrikā*-26 pathaka in *Nāgasārikā-viṣaya* in *Lāṭa-deśa.*	JBRBAS 26. 250	*Karṇa* I *Śaka* 996	S. Gujarat	Kacholi (Navasari).

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Kaccha-maṇḍala	IA. VI. 193-4	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1086	Cutch	Cutch
Do	IA. XVIII. 109-10	*Bhīma* II *Simha* 93	Do	Do *Kara*
Kaḍā -grāma in *Daṇḍāhī*-pathaka	IA. XI. 71-3	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1256	N. Gujarat	*Kara*(?)
Kamboikā -grāma in Modhera -8 in *Sārasvata-maṇḍala*	IA. VI. 191-2	*Mūlarāja* V.S. 1043	N. Gujarat	Kamboi Solanki or *Kamboī*
Kāmvalaüli -grāma	IA. XI. 337-38	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1264	S. Kathiawad	Kamlol (2 miles west of Talaja)
Karīra -grāma	IA. VI. 194-5	*Bhīma* II fiv.S. 1263	N. Gujarat	Karela according to 'position' in the map.
Karnnāṭa	PO. I. ii. 50	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1218	Ref. in an inscr. from Kiradu (Jodhpur)	*Karṇāṭaka*
Kāroḍā -grāma	Imp. Inscr. 73	*Mūlarāja* II V.S. 1232	N. Gujarat	*Karoḍā* (Chansma Taluka, Baroda)
Kāsahrada -grāma	EI. VIII. 220	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana	Not traced but many places like Anadra, Vandra etc.
Khambhila -grāma in *Varddhi*-pathaka	IA. VI. 196-98	*Jayaṁta-siṁha* V.S. 1280	N. Gujarat	Khambel
Khaṁdohaka near *Brāhmaṇa-pāṭaka*	IA. XVIII. 82-4	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1231	C. Gujarat	Not identified
Kheṭaka-maṇḍala	EI. XIX 242	*Siyaka* V.S. 1005	C. Gujarat	Kheda (*Kaira*)
Khiṁvana-sthāna	EI. II. 28	V.S. 1217	N. Gujarat	Not identified
Kālharī -grāma in *Gaṁbhūtā* -pathaka	IA. VI. 196-8	*Jayaṁta-siṁha* V.S. 1280	N. Gujarat	*Kālri*
Do	IA. VI. 194-5	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1263	Do	Do
Kālā -grāma in *Talabhadrikā* -26-pathaka in *Nāgasārikā -viṣaya Lāṭa Deśa.*	JBBRAS. 26.250	*Karṇa* I *Saka* 996	S. Gujarat	Perhaps Kalawachh or Khergaon acc. to 'position' (Navsari).

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Kāliyāṇa -grāma in Varddhi -pathaka	IA. VI. 205-6	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1295	N. Gujarat	*Kāliāna*
Kāmbalī -grāma in *Viṣaya* and *Daṇḍāhi* -pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	*Tribhuvana-pāla* V.S. 1299	Do	Kambli
Kirāṭakupa	PO. I. ii. 51	*Kumāra-pāla* V.S. 1218.	S. Rajputana	Kiradu (Jodhpur)
Do	Do p.44	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1235	Do	Do
Śrī Do	BPSI. 184	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1225.	Do	Do
Kisaraülī -grāma	EI. VIII. 220	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	Do	Kivarli, 8 miles southeast of Delvada, Mt. Abu.
Koḍā -grāma in *Ubhaloḍa* -pathaka	IA. X. 159	*Jayasiṁha* V.S. 1202	C. Gujarat	Not identified
Koṭaḍi	EI. VIII. 222	Do	Do	Kotra, 7 miles south of Delvada, Mt. Abu.
Kṣāravāha	IA.X. 159-60	*Jayasiṁha* V.S. 1196.	C. Gujarat	Kharva
Kuīyala -grāma in *Viṣaya* and *Daṇḍāhī* -pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	*Tribhuvana-pāla* V.S. 1299.	N. Gujarat	Kiol or Kiyal
Kūlā -vasaṇa-grāma in *Viṣaya* and *Daṇḍāhi* -pathaka	IA. VI. 108-10	*Tribhuvana-pāla* V.S. 1299	Do	Probably Jhulasan (according to 'position')
Kumbhāroṭaka -grāma in *Mohaḍāvāsaka -viṣaya* in *Kheṭaka-maṇḍala.*	EI. XIX. 236	*Sīyaka* V.S. 1005	North and Central Gujarat	*Kāmrod* (13 *miles* east of Modasa, Prantij Taluka) Mahi Kantha Agency
Kuralī -grāma in *Viṣaya* and *Daṇḍāhī*-pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	*Tribhuvana-pāla.* V.S. 1299	N. Gujarat	Not traced
Kusaloḍa -grāma	IA. VI. 208	*Bhīma* II	N. Gujarat	Ukhlod
Lakhaṇaüḍā -grāma in *Bhāīlasvāmi* -(12) *maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII. 347-48	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1229	Malwa Central India	Not identified

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Lāṅgaṇaïiya -grāma	*Bhāratīya Vidyā*, I. 80	*Cāmuṇḍa* V.S. 1033	N. Gujarat	*Lāṅghṇaj*
Lār(ṭ)a -vasudhā	EI. I. 297	*Kumārapāla*	Central and Southern Guj.	*Lāṭa*
Lāṭhivadra -pathaka	BPSI. 158	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1202	S.W.Kathiawad	*Lāṭodrā*, 4 miles east of Mangrol.
Lavaṁdaḍī -grāma	IA. 41. 203	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1213	S. Rajputana	Not identified
Līlāpura	IA. VI. 194-5	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1262	N. Gujarat	*Lilāpur*, 12 miles southwest of Viramgam.
Luṁḍā -vasaṇa in *Varddhi* -pathaka (?)	IA. VI.	*Vīsaladeva* V.S. 1317	Do	Not identified
Mahā-hāṁsala -pura-*grāma* in *Varddhi* -pathaka (?)	IA. VI. 196-9	*Jayaṁtasiṁha* V.S. 1280	N. Gujarat	*Hāsalpur*
Mahiṁsaka	EI. V. 102-3	*Vīsaladeva* V.S. 1308	Do	Not identified
Mahī -nadī	EI. XIX. 242	*Sīyaka* V.S. 1005	N. and Central Gujarat	Mahi river
Mahisāṇā -grāma in *Daṇḍāhī*-pathaka	IA. XI 71 -3	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1256	N. Gujarat	Mehsana (Now the capital of this *prānt.*)
Mākhulagāmva -grāma (42) in *Pūrṇṇa*-pathaka in *Narbadā-taṭa-maṇḍala.*	IA. XVIII. 82 -4	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1231	Central Gujarat.	Not identified.
Mālakatari -grāma in *Gaṁbhūtā*-pathaka	IA. VI 194 -5	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1263	N. Gujarat.	Malika, about 5 miles south-east of *Lilāpur*, near Viramgam.
Mālava	PO. I. ii. 50	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1218	S. Rajputana	Malwa
Mālava -deśa	BPSI. 227	*Rāmadeva* V.S. 1352	Malwa Central India.	Do
Maṇḍalī in *Varddhi Viṣaya Sārasvata -maṇḍala*	IA. VI. 191 -3	*Mūlaraja* I V.S. 1043	N. Gujarat	*Māndal* or Mandali, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Delmal
Maṇḍali in *Varddhi* -pathaka	IA. VI. 201 -2	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	Do	Do

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Do	IA. VI. 207	Do 1296		
Do	IA. VI. 210 -12	*Vīsaladeva* V.S. 1317	Do	Do
Śrīman -Maṅgalapura	BPSI. 158	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1202	S. Kathiawad	Mangrol, south-west coast of Kathiawad.
Maru *maṇḍala*	PO. I. 47	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1218	S. Rajputana	Marwad. Cf. Mewar (*Mewāḍ*) *Mihiravāḍā* ?
Masūra -grāma in *Ghaḍahaḍikā* -12 in *Kaccha -maṇḍala*	IA. VI. 193 -4	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1086	Cutch	Cannot be traced
Śrī -Mātāmahabu -grāma	EI. VIII. 222	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana	Not identified but was on Mt. Abu.
Medherā -grāma	IA. VI. 201-3	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	N. Gujarat	Can it be *Mudherā* ?
Mehūnā -grāma in *Varddhi* -pathaka	IA. VI. 210-12	*Vīsaladeva* V.S. 1317	N. Gujarat	Perhaps *Mahunā* (*Patan Mahal*).
Metravāla -grāma in Satyapura -*maṇḍala*	EI. X. 78-9	*Mūlarāja* I V.S. 1051	S. Rajputana	Mirpur (?) Sanchor Rajputana
Śrī Modhera -kiya in *Sārasvata -maṇḍala*	IA. VI. 191-3	*Mūlarāja* I V.S. 1043	N. Gujarat	*Muḍherā* or *Moḍharā*
Mohaḍavāsaka -viṣaya in *Kheṭaka -maṇḍala*	EI. XIX. 236	*Sīyaka* V.S. 1005	Do	*Modasa* on the Majham river Prantij Taluka (Ahmadabad)
Muṇḍasthala	EI. VIII. 221	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana	Murthala, 8 miles south-east of Devada on the railway line.
Muṇḍaka in *Varddhi -viṣaya*	JBBRAS. Extra No. 49.	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1086	N. Gujarat	Not identified
Śrī Naḍḍula	PO. I. 44	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1216	S. Rajputana	*Nādol*
Naḍūla -pura	BPSI .205		Do	Do
Nadrāla -pura	BPSI. 172	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1209	Do	Do
Nadū(la)taḍāgikā	IA. 41. 203	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1213	Do	*Nādlāi*, Deusri Dist. (Jodhpur)

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Nāgasārikā -viṣaya	JBBRAS 26. 250	*Karṇa* I V.S. 1131	S. Gujarat	*Navasārī*
Nāha -grāma in *Bhāīlla-svāmi-mahā-dvādaśaka* (12) *maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII. 344	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1229	Malwa Central India	Not identified
Naṁdā -vasaṇa -grāma in *Viṣaya & Daṇḍāhī* -pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	*Tribhuvana-pāla* V.S. 1299	N. Gujarat	*Nandāsan*
Narmadā -taṭa - maṇḍala	IA. XVIII. 82-4	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1231	Central Gujarat	
Natāülī -grāma in *Cālisā* -pathaka	IA. VI. 199-200	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1283	N. Gujarat	Not identified
Navati	VII. A.I.O.C.R. 642-43	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1263	Udaipur	Nauti
Navanīsaka -sthāna in *Kachha -maṇḍala*	IA. VI. 193-4	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1086	Cutch	Not identified
Navasara	PO. I. ii. 51	*Kumāra-pāla* V.S. 1218	S. Rajputana	*Nausar*, Jodhpur State
Nāyakā -grāma in *Varddhi* -pathaka	IA. VI. 210-12	*Visaladeva* V.S. 1317	N. Gujarat	Perhaps *Naita*, 6 miles north of Patan.
Nīlachī-grāma in *Varddhi* -pathaka	IA. VI. 205-6	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1295	Do	*Nilki*
Oṁkurāla -grāma in *Cālīsā*-pathaka	IA. VI. 199-200	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1283	Do	Not identified
Orāsā -grāma	EI. VIII. 222	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputanta	*Oria*, Mt. Abu
Pālhaṇa -pura	IA. 41. 21	*Sāraṅga-deva* V.S. 1348	N. Gujarat	Palanpur
Palladikā in *Gohaṇasara* in *Ghūsaḍī -grāma.*	IA. VI. 205-6	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1295	N. Gujarat	Not identified. Must be in or near Viramgam.
Palladikā in *Āsāpalli*	IA. VI.	Visaladeva V.S. 1317.	Do	Not identified
Pallikā	PO. I. i. 42	*Kumāra-pāla* V.S. 1209.	S. Rajputana	*Pālī*

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Phīlaṇī -grāma	EI. VIII. 221	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana	Cannot be traced. Mentioned along with Delvada, Mt. Abu.
Phīñcaḍī -grāma in *Gambhutā* -pathaka	IA. VI. 196-99	*Jayaṁita-siṁha* V.S. 1280	N. Gujarat	*Phechaḍī*
Do in Varddhi-pathaka	Do	Do	Do	Do
Do	IA. VI. 201-3	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287.	Do	Do
Phūlasara -grāma	IA. XI. 337-38	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1264	S. E. Kathiawad	Phulsar on the railway line from Talaja to Mahuva.
Prasannapura *-sthāna* in Kaccha *-maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII. 109-10	*Bhīma* II *Siṁha Saṁvat* 93	Cutch	Not identified.
Prajharikā -grāma in Kachha *maṇḍala*	IA. VI. 193	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1086	Do	Perhaps Pragsar, Bhuj.
Śrī Puṇḍarika -giri	EI. VIII. 222	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287.		
Pūrṇṇa -pathaka in *Narmadā-taṭa maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII 82-84	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1231	Central Gujarat	Not properly identified
Rāï -grāma in *Talabhadrikā* in *Nāgasārikā -viṣaya.*	JBBRAS. 26.250	*Karṇa* I. V.S. 1131	S. Gujarat	Probably AJRAI
Śrimān Raivataka	EI. VIII. 222	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287.	S. Kathiawad	Mt. *Girṇar.*
Rājapuri -grāma in *Viṣaya* and *Daṇḍāhi* pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	*Tribhuvana-pāla* V.S. 1299	N. Gujarat	*Rājpur*, 5 miles north of Kadi.
Rājāsīyaṇī -grāma in *Varddhi*-pathaka	IA. VI. 205-8	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1296	Do	*Rakhiana*
Rāṇā-vāḍā -grāma in *Vālauya*-pathaka	IA. VI. 203-4	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	DO	*Rāṇāvāḍā* (Patan Mahal).
Rāṇeloya -grāma in *Varddhi*-pathaka	IA. VI. 196-9	*Jayaṁita-siṁha* V.S. 1280	Do	*Rānela* (?)

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Ratnapura -84	BPSI. 205		S. Rajputana	*Ratanpur* Jodhpur State.
Raïnī -grāma in *Varddhi*-pathaka	IA. VI. 210-12	*Vīsaladeva* V.S. 1317	N. Gujarat	Probably Runi, 2 miles east of Patan.
Riṇasīha -vasaṇa -grāma in *Varddhi*-pathaka	IA. VI. 210-12	Do	Do	*Raṇāsan* (*Chāṇasmā* Mahal).
Rīvaḍī -grāma in *Varddhi*-pathaka	IA. VI. 206-8	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1296	Do	RIBDI.
Rūpā -pura in *Varddhi*-pathaka	IA. VI.	*Vīsaladeva*	Do	Either Ruppur, 7 miles north of Patan, or 2 miles north of *Chāṇasma.*
Saḍesara -pathaka	IA. VI. 201-3	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1237	N. Gujarat	Cannot be identified.
Sahajavasaṇa -grāma in *Varddhi*-pathaka	IA. VI. 205-8	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1296	Do	Do
Sahasacāṇa -grāma in Kachha -*maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII 109-11	*Bhīma* II *Siṁha Saṁvat* 93	Cutch	Do
Sāhilavāḍā	EI. VIII. 221	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat	Selvada. (Selwara), 8 miles west north-west of *Delvāḍā*
Sākalī -grāma in *Surāṣṭra -maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII. 112-14	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1266	S. Kathiawad	*Sankli*, 3 miles south of *Jetalsar.*
Sāla -grāma	EI. VIII. 222	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat	*Sālgaon* (Salgaon) 1 mile east-south-east of *Delvāḍa.*
Salakhaṇa -pura in *Varddhi*-pathaka	IA. VI. 196-99	*Jayaṁtasiṁha* V.S. 1280	N. Gujarat	*Sankhalpur*, 12 miles south-west of *Gāmbhu.*
Do	IA. VI. 203-4	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	Do	Do
Do	IA. VI. 205	Do	Do	Do

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Samaḍīyā -grāma in *Surāṣṭra -maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII 112-14	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1266	S. Kathiawad	*Samadhiāla*, 11 miles south-east of Vanthli.
Sāṁparā -grāma in *Vālauya*-pathaka	IA. VI. 203-4	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	N. Gujarat	*Sāmpra*, 12 miles north of *Pātan*.
Sāṁpāvāḍā -grāma in Varddhi-pathaka	IA. VI. 196 -9	*Jayanta-simha* V.S. 1280	N. Gujarat	*Sāṁpavādā*, 13 miles south - west of *Gambhu*
Do	IA. VI. 201 -3	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	Do	Do
Samvatasara -grāma in *Gaṁbhūtā - pathaka*	RLARBP 358	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1202	Do	Cannot be traced
Sāṁdiha -grāma in Varddhi -pathaka	IA. VI.	*Visaladeva* V.S. 1212	Do	Do
Saṇḍera -grāma	EI. I. 217	*Karṇa* I V.S. 1148	Do	*Sander*
Sapādalaska	BPSI. 227	*Rāmadeva* V.S. 1352		
Sāṁgavaṭṭa in *Bhṛṁgāri* (64)	IA. XVIII 344	*Kumāra-pala* (?) V.S. 1222	Malwa Central India.	Not identified
Saṅgamakheṭaka-maṇḍala	O.C. (Poona) I. 319	Bhoja V.S. 1103	Central Gujarat.	*Saṅkheḍā*
Sārasvata -maṇḍala	IA. VI. 191 -3	*Mūlarāja* V.S. 1043.	N. Gujarat.	
Srī Satruñjaya-mahātīrtha	RLARBP. 328, 31, 33, 41,44	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	Kathiawad	*Satruñjaya*
Satyapura -maṇḍala	EI. X. 78 -9	*Mūlarāja* V.S. 1051.	S. Rajputana	*Sāṅchor*
Saurāṣṭra	BPSI. 158	*Kumāra-pāla* V.S. 1202	S. Kathiawad	*Soraṭh*
Saurāṣṭraka -deśa	BPSI. 204 -5	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1275	Do	Do
Surāṣṭra	IA. X. 159 -60	*Jayasiṁha* V.S. 1196.	Do	Do
.....*maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII 102 -14	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1266	Do	Do

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Śeṣadevatī -grāma in *Gambhūtā-pathaka*	IA. VI. 196-99	*Jayantasiṁha* V.S. 1280	N. Gujarat	Original *Doḍiyāpāṭaka*, but later called after the god's name.
Do	IA. VI. 194-5	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1263.	Do	Do
Sīhakā -grāma in *Mohaḍavāsaka -viṣaya* in*Kheṭaka -maṇḍala*	EI. XIX 236	*Sīyaka* V.S. 1005	N. Gujarat	Sika (Idar State), 8 miles south-south-west of Modasa.
Sihara *-grāma*	EI. VIII. 222	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Gujarat	Ser, 8 miles north-east of Delvada.
Siṁhapura	BPSI. 227	*Rāmadeva*	S.E. Kathiawad.	Sihor
Sindhu	IA. X. 159-60	*Jayasiṁha* V.S. 1196	Sindh	
Sīrasāvi -grāma in *Viṣaya* and *Daṇḍāhī* -pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	*Tribhuvanapāla* V.S. 1299	N. Gujarat	SARSAO
Sīvalīyā -vahaṇi in *Surāṣṭra maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII 112-124	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1266	Kathiawad	Not traced.
Soṣaḍī-nadī in *Surāṣṭra maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII. 112-14	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1266	Do	Do
Somanāthadeva -nagara	IA. XI. 242. 242.	Arjunadeva	Do	Somanath-*pāṭan*
Śrī Someśvara -pattana	PO. I. 38	*Kumārapāla*	Do	Do
Somanāthadeva -pattana	IA. XI. p. 242	Arjunadeva	Do	Do
Stambhanaka -pura in Gurjara-*maṇḍala*	RLARBP. 328 31, 33, 41, 44	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	Central Gujarat	*Khambhāt* (Cambay).
Śrī Stambha-tīrtha	BPSI. 227	*Rāmadeva* V.S. 1352.	Do	Do
Śrī Sthalaka on *prāci-Sarasvatī*	IA. VI. 191-3	*Mūlarāja* V.S. 1043	N. Gujarat	Sidhpur
Suhāsaḍā -grāma in *Varddhi* -pathaka	IA. VI. 210-12	*Vīsaladeva* V.S. 1317	Do	Cannot be traced.
Sūnaka -grāma	EI. I. 317	*Karṇa* I	Do	Sunak, 12 miles east-south-east of Patan

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Sūṇaka -grāma	EI. II. 33	V.S. 1356	Do	Do
Sūrayaja -grāma in Varddhi -pathaka	IA.VI. 201-2	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	N. Gujarat	Suraj
Talabhadrikā - 26 (36?)-pathaka in *Nāgasārikā -viṣaya* in *Lāṭa-Deśa*	JBBRAS. 26.250	*Karṇa* I *Śaka* 996	S. Gujarat	Not traced.
Tāladhvaja	IA. XV. 360	Mehera V.S. 1386	Kathiawad	Talaja (?)
Talājhā	IA. XI. 338	Mehara Jagamalla under *Bhīma* II V.S. 1264	Do	Do
Talāra	BPSI. 158	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1202	Do	Talodra (?)
Taṇukoṭṭa	PO. II. i. 51	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1218	S. Rajputana	Tanot (Jaisalmer State).
Timvāṇaka	RLARBP. 253	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1292	Kathiawad	*Timāṇā* (near Talaja)
Do	IA. XI. 337-38	Mehara King Jagamalla under *Bhima* II V.S. 1264	Do	Do (41)
Toraṇa -grāma in *Talabhadrikā* - 36 pathaka *Nāgasarikā -viṣaya Lāta - Deśa.*	JBBRAS. 26 26.250	*Karṇa* I *Śaka* 996	S. Gujarat	Torangam
Tribha *-grāma*	IA. VI. 208-10	*Tribhuvanapāla* V.S. 1299	N. Gujarat	Tarabh
Trihaṭi -grāma	IA. VI. 205-6	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1295	N. Gujarat	Tret
Laghu-Ubhaḍā -grāma in *Varddhi*-pathaka	IA. VI. 206-8	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1296	Do	Ubhada (*Nānā*)
Ubhaloḍa-pathaka in *Godrahaka-mahāmaṇḍala*	IA. X. 159-60	*Jayasiṁha* V.S. 1196	Central Gujarat	Abhold, 6 miles south of Dohad

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Uṁjhā -grāma	PO. I. iv. 40	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1231	N. Gujarat	*Unjhā*
Do. in *Viṣaya* and *Daṇḍāhipathaka*	IA. VI. 208-10	*Tribhuvana-pāla* V.S. 1299	Do	Do
Śrīmat Ujjayaṁta tīrtha	RLARBP 356	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1215	Kathiawad	Mt. Girnar.
Do—*Ujjayaṁta mahātīrtha*	Ibid. 328, 31, 33, 41, 44.	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	Do	Do
Uli -grāma or *Puli-grāma* in *Viṣaya* and *Daṇḍāhipathaka*	IA. XI. 71-3	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1256	N. Gujarat	Probably Piludra.
Umarathā -grāma in *Bhṛṁgāri*-64-pathaka	IA. XVIII. 347-8	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1229	Malwa C. India.	Not identified.
Uṁvaraṇī -grāma	EI. VIII. 220	*Bhīma* V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana	*Umarni*, 7 miles south-south-west of Delvada.
Uṁdirā -grāma in *Vālauya*-pathaka	IA. VI. 203-4	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	N. Gujarat	*Udrā* or *Undrā*
Uṁṭaūyā -grāma in *Viṣaya* and *Daṇḍahī* pathaka	IA. VI. 208-10	*Tribhuvana-pāla* V.S. 1299	Do	*Utwa*
Ūtaracha -grāma	EI. VIII. 222	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	S. Rajputana N. Gujarat	*Utraj*, 5½ miles north east of Delvada.
Vaḍasara -grāma in *Cālīsā*-pathaka	IA. VI. 199-200	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1283	N. Gujarat	Probably *Vadsar* (Kalol Mahal).
Vahicara in *Gaṁbhūtā*-pathaka	IA. VI. 196-99	*Jayaṁta-siṁha*	Do	*Becharaji*, 13 miles southwest of Gambhu.
Vahiḍāu -grāma in *Śrī Bhāillasvāmi Mahādvādaśaka*-(12) *maṇḍala.*	IA. XVIII. 347-8	*Ajayapāla* V.S. 1299	Malwa C. India	Not identified.
Vahaṇi-grāma(?) in *Surāṣṭra-mandala*	IA. XVIII. 112-14	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1266	S. Kathiawad	Do.
Valaïja	BPSI. 158	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1202	Do	*Balej*
Vālauya-pathaka	IA. VI. 203-4	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1288	N. Gujarat	*Baluwa* (?) 6 miles north of Patan.

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Vālhī-grāma	PO. I. ii. 46	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1216	S. Rajputana	*Bali.*
Śrī Vāmana-pura	HIG.III.97	*Sāraṅga-deva* V.S. 1346	S. Kathiawad	Vanthli.
Śrī Vāmana-sthalī	BPSI. 158	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1202	S. Kathiawad	Vanthli.
Do in *Surāṣṭra-maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII 112-4	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1266	Do	Do
Varaḍi -grāma in *Surāṣṭra maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII. 110-14	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1266	Do	Wadal(?).
Varddhi-viṣaya in *Sārasvata maṇḍala*	IA. VI. 191-3	*Mūlarāja* V.S. 1043	N. Gujarat	Vadhiar or Vadhi
Do	JBBRAS Extra No. 49.	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1086	Do	Do
Varddhi-pathaka	IA. VI. 198-9	*Jayaṁta-siṁha* V.S. 1280	Do	Do
Do	IA. VI. 205-6	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1295 *Bhīma* II V.S. 1296	Do	Do
Do	IA. VI. 201-3	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	Do	Do
Varaṇaka -grāma in *Satyapura-maṇḍala*	EI. X. 78-9	*Mūlarāja* V.S. 1051	S. Rajputana	Not properly identified.
Vārāṇasī	BPSI 186	*Kumārapāla* V.S. 1225	U. P.	Benaras.
Varaṇā-vāḍā-grāma in *Dhāṇada-āhāra-*pathaka	EI. XXI. 171-2	*Bhīma* I V.S. 1120	N. Gujarat	*Varanavāḍā* (Palanpur). 6 miles south of Dhanda.
Vara-asavali-grāma in *Dhāṇada-āhāra-*pathaka	Do	Do	Do	Cannot be traced.
*Varuṇa-śarmakiya-*padra	*Bharatiya-vidya* I. i. 80	*Cāmuṇḍa* V.S. 1033	Do	*Vadasama* (Warsama).
Vekariyā -grāma in Kaccha-*maṇḍala*	IA. XVIII. 109-10	*Bhīma* II Simha Samvat 93.	Cutch	*Verra*(?) (Mandvi, Cutch).

INSCRIPTIONAL PLACE-NAME	REFERENCE	PERIOD	LOCALITY	IDENTIFICATION
Vilahuja	(Poona) I. 319	*Bhoja* (*Paramāra*) V.S. 1103	Central Gujarat	*Velpur*(?)
Visanaaveli -grāma	BPSI. 158	*Kumarapāla* V.S. 1202	S. Kathiawad	*Visanvel* (Wisanvel) 1 mile east of Chorwad.
Viṣaya-pathaka	IA. XI. 208-11	*Tribhuvana-pāla* V.S. 1299	N. Gujarat	Not identified.
Voḍha-grāma in *Satyapura-maṇḍala*	EI. X. 78-9	*Mūlarāja* I V.S. 1051	S. Rajputana	Bodan(?)

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF PERSONAL NAMES FROM CAULUKYA INSCRIPTIONS

ABBREVIATIONS:— d = Daughter. d. -in-law = Daughter-in-law. f = Father. s = Son. w. = Wife.

Other abbreviated words have been explained in full when they occur for the first time.

PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
1. *Āṁbaḍa*, s. of *Mantrī* Udaya	Minister	Jain	*Śrī Mālakula*			Kathiawad, PO. 2.229.
2. *Abūbrāhima*, f. of *Noradīna Pīroja*	*Nākhu(dā)*	Muslim	*Khojā*	Hurmuja	Arjunadeva, V.S. 1320	Kathiawad, IA. xi. 243.
3. *Ābhā*	*Sā.* (*Sādhu*)				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21
4. *Śrī Abhayasīha*	Bhadra, *Pārikha ?*				V.S. 1348	IA. xi. 241
5. *Abhīravīra*					*Kumārapāla Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	Kathiawad, PO. 1.4.39. Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 221.
6. *Ālha*, s. of *Delhaṇa*	*Śre.* (*Śreṣṭhin*) and *Goṣṭhī* (Go)	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Gaḍāhaḍa*		
7. *Ālhaṇa*, s. of *Māṇibhadra*	*Śre.* and Go.	-do-	-do-	*Uṁvarṇī-Kisarüalī*	-do-	-do- Ibid. 220

PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
8. *Ālhaṇa*, s. of *Delhaṇa*	*Śre.* and Go.	-do-	*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	-do-	-do- Ibid. 221.
9. *Ālhā*, s. of Gosala	*Śre.* and Go.	-do-	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Kāṣahrada*	-do-	-do- Ibid. 220
10. *Alhaṇadevī*. w. of *Pūrṇasiṁha*					*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1276	BP. 51. 174.
11. *Ājapāla*, s. of *Maṅgalaśiva ācārya*	*Bhaṭṭāraka*		*Brāhmaṇa*	*Navaṇīsaka* (Cutch)	*Bhīma* I, V.S. 1086	IA. vi.193.
12. *Ālaḍa*, s. of *Gogā*	Go.				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 338.
13. *Ālaḍa*	Sau (Sculptor?)				-do-	-do-
14. *Śrī Ālaṇadeva*	*Mahārāja*			Ruler of *Kirāṭakūpa* (*Kirāḍu*)	*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1209	S. Rajputana, BPSI. 172.
15. *Āmvā*, s. of *Kolā*	*Śre.* and Go	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Kāsahṛda*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 220.
16. *Āmvadeva*, s. of *Nāgadeva*	*Śre.* and Go.	Jain	*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	-do-	Mt. Abu Ibid. 221.
17. *Āmvuya*, s. of *Jasarā*	*Śre.*		*Śrīmāla*	*Haṁḍāüdra*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 221.
18. *Śri Āmvasīha*, s. of Maha. *śrī. Dharaṇiga*	*Ṭhakkura* (*Ṭha*)		*Prāgvāṭa*	*Caṅdrāvatī*	-do-	-do- Ibid. 219-20.

PERSONAL NAMES	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY REFERENCE
19. *Amaṭa*, m. to *Sajjanī*, of *Someśvara* and *Sītā*			*Nāgara Brāhmaṇa* of *Kāpiṣṭha* Gotra	*Guñjā*	*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1328	Kodinar, IA. xi. 102.
20. *Āmiga*, f. of *Punaḍa*	*Mahājani*		*Prāgvāṭa*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	Mt. Abu, EI viii. 220.
21. *Ānā*	*Soluṇki Rāṇaka*					
22. *Ānā*, g. f. of *Śrī* Jagamalla	*Vṛ* (*Vṛhatpuruṣa*) *Meharārājā*		Mehara (Mer ?)		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 338
23. *Ānā*. f. of *Lūṇapasāka*	*Soluṅki Rāṇaka*				*Jayavaṁtasiṁha*, V.S. 1280	IA. vi. 197
24. -do-	-do-				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	IA. vi. 201.
25. *Śrī Anupamadevī*, w. of *Tejaḥpāla*		Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Caṁdrāvatī*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 219-20.
26. -do-	*Bhāryā*, *mahaṁ*.	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	Pattana	V.S. 1290	-do- Ibid. 226.
27. -do-				Anahilapura	V.S. 1287	-do- Ibid. 219-20.
28. Arjuna	Soni				V.S. 1348	IA. 41.21.
29. *Arasīha*, s. of *Vīradeva*	*Mahājani* and Go.	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Brahmāṇa*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
30. *Āsacandra*, s. of *Dhaüliga*	*Jñātīya* and Go.	Jain	*Dharkkaṭa*	*Uṁvaraṇī-Kisaraüli*	-do-	Ibid. 220.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
31.	*Āsadeva*, s. of *Devakuṁyāra*	*Śre.* and Go.	Jain	*Oïsavāla Prāgvāṭa*	*Dhaüligrāma*	—do—	Ibid. 220.
32.	*Śri Āsadeva*					V.S. 1315	Siyal Bet. Kathiawad. RLARBP. 253
33.	*Āsadhara*	*Śre*				V.S. 1348	IA. 41.21
34.	*Āsadhara*, s. of Sodhala	Jyoti (*sa*)		*Brāhmaṇa Rāyakavāla Jñātī*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1256	IA. xi. 72.
35.	*Āsadhara*, s. of *Rāsala*	*Śre.* and Go.	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Uṁvaraṇī-Kisaraülī*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220
36.	*Śri Āśāditya*	Maham. and Writer		*Kāla Jāti*		*Jayavaṁtasiṁha*, V.S. 1280	IA. vi. 198.
37.	*Āsala*, s. of *Āsadhara*	*Śre*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221
38.	—do—	*Śre.* and Go.	Jain	*Śrīmāla*	*Haṁḍāüdragrāma*	—do—	—do—
39.	*Āsala*, s. of *Kālhaṇa*	—do—	Jain	*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	—do—	—do—
40.	*Āsala*, f. of Jagadeva	—do—	Jain	*Śrimāla*	*Haṁḍāüdragrāma*	—do—	—do—
41.	*Āsāla*, f. of *Sādā*	*Śre*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Haṁḍāüdragrāma*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
42.	*Śrī Āsarāja*, s. of *Ṭha. Śrī Soma*	*Ṭha.*	—do—	—do—	*Aṇahilapāṭaka*	—do—	Ibid. 219

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
43.	*Āsū*, s. of *Lakhamaṇa*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	—do—	*Śrimāla*	*Haṇḍāüdra-grāma*	—do—	Ibid. 221.
44.	*Āsvesara*, s. of Sohiya	—do—	—do—	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Muṇḍasthala*	—do—	—do—
45.	*Āvodhana*, f. of *Jagasīha*	*Maha.*	—do—	*Oïsavāla*	*Brahmāṇa*	—do—	Ibid. 220.
46.	*Āmvūya*, f. of *Vohaḍi*	—do—	—do—	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Gaḍāhaḍa*	—do—	Ibid. 221.
47.	*Śrī* Bahudeva	*Ṭhakkura* and *Mahāsandhivigrahaka* and *Dūtaka*				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1289	IA. vi. 202.
48.	Balabhadra, s. of Vasudeva			*Udīca Brāhmaṇa*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1086	JBBRAS. Extra. 49.
49.	*Bakulasvāmī*, f. of *Purusottama* and g.s. of Somadeva	Sculptor		*Brāhmaṇa*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1288	Girnar, RLARBP. 332.
50.	*Bhadasīha*	*Sā.* (*Sādhu*)					IA. 41.21.
51.	*Bhābhā*, s. of Maham. *Śrī Pūnapāla* and *Pūnadevī*	*Rājapāla*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*		V.S. 1293	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 227.
52.	*Bhīmaḍa*, s. of *Vīkala*			*Moḍha-vaṁśa*	*Staṁbhatīrtha*,	V.S. 1352	Cambay, BPSI. 227.
53.	*Śrī Bhīmasīha*	*Brhatpuruṣa Ṭhakkura.*				V.S. 1320	Veraval, IA. xi. 243.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELI-GION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
54.	*Śrī Bhīmāka*	*Ṭhakkura and Mahā-saṁdhivigrahika, Dūtaka*				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1256	IA. xi. 72.
55.	*Śrī Bhogāditya*	*Mahāsaṁdhivigrahaka* and *Dūtaka*				*Bhīma* I, V.S. 1120	EI. xxi. 172.
56.	Bhojadeva	Agriculturist and Zamindar		*Brāhmaṇa*(?)		*Kumārāpāla*, V.S. 1202	HIG. III. 200.
57.	*Bholā*, s. of *Sājana*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Dhaülīgrāma*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220-1.
58.	*Brahmaśaraṇu*, s. of Desala	-do-	-do-	-do-	*Gaḍāhaḍa*	-do-	-do- 221.
59.	*Brahmadeva*, f. of *Rālhā*		-do-	-do-		-do-	-do- 220.
60.	*Būṭāka*	Agriculturist and Zamindar.		*Brāhmaṇa*(?)		*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1202	HIG. iii. 200. Kathiawad.
61.	*Śrī Cāciga-deva*	*Mahāmātya* and *Rāṇaka*				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 338.
62.	*Śrī Caṇḍapa*	*Ṭha.*		*Prāgvāṭa-jñātīya*			EI. viii. 219-200
63.	*Śrī Caṇḍaśarmā*	*Mahāsandhivigrahaka* and *Dūtaka*				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1086	IA. vi. 194.
64.	-do-	-do-				*Bhīma Siṁha*. S. 93	IA. xviii. 110.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
65.	*Śrī Caṇḍasiṁha*, f. of *Dharaṇiga*			*Prāgvāṭa*			EI. i. 31.
66.	*Caṇḍapa*, f. of *Sobhārka*	Farmer and Member of the *Pañcakula*				V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 338.
67.	*Cāṅgadeva*	*Sā(dhu)*				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
68.	*Śrī Cāhaḍa*	*Ṭha.*				*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1222	Udayapur (Gwalior)
69.	*Cāhaḍa*, s. of Udaya	Mantri		*Śrīmāla*		Arjunadeva V.S. 1320	IA. xviii. 343. 44. PO. II. 230.
70.	*Śrī Cāhila*	*Mahāsaṁdhivigrahaka*				*Karṇa* I, V.S. 1148	EI. I. 318.
71.	*Cāhuṭa*, f. of *Ṭhakkura Chājha*			*Brāhmaṇa*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 338.
72.	*Cāïya*, s. of *Īsarā*	Koli—Kaulika (weaver?)				-do-	-do-
73.	*Caiṁḍarā*, f. of *Śrī* Jagamalla			Mehera (Mer?)		-do-	-do-
74.	*Śrī Chāḍa*, s. of *Nānāsīha*	*Rājakula, Bṛhat.*				Arjunadeva, V.S. 1320	IA. xi. 243.
75.	*Chājha*, s. of *Cāhuṭa*	*Ṭha.* and *Go.*		*Brāhmaṇa*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 338.

PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
76. *S'rī Dādāka*, s. of *Mahādeva*	*Mahāmātya*(?) and *Mahattama*		*Nāgara* (*Brāhmaṇa*)		*Jayasiṁha*, V.S. 1195	Ujjain, C.I., IA. 42.258.
77. *S'ri Dāraïka*	*Mahāmātya*				-do-	Bhadresvar, ASWI. II.
78. *Dāhaḍa*, s. of Sahadeva	*Ṭha.* and *Goṣṭhika*		*Brāhmaṇa*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1264	IA xi. 338.
79. *Dāmara*	*Sā.*				V.S. 1348	IA. 41.21.
80. *Dāmodara*, s. of Govinda.			*Brāhmaṇa* Vatsagotra.	Cutch		IA. xviii. 109-110.
81. *Dedā*, m. to *Kaḍūdevī*	*Ṭha.*		*Pallī-jati*		V.S. 1300	Siyal Bet. Kathiawad RLARBP. 253.
82. *Dedā*, f. of *Vīsala*	*S're.* and *Go.*	Jain	*S'rīmāla*	*Haṁḍāüdra*	*Bhīma* II V.S. 1287	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 221.
83. *Delhā*, f. of *Alhāṇa*	-do-	-do-	*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	-do-	-do-
84. *Delhaṇa*, of *Ālhā*	-do-	-do-	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Gaḍāhaḍa*	-do-	-do-
85. *Delhaṇa*, f. of *Khīmvasīha*	-do-	-do-	-do-	*Uṁvaraṇī-kisaraülī*	-do-	Ibid. 220.
86. *Delhuya*, s. of *Sāṁtuya*	-do-	-do-	-do-	*Kāśahrada*	-do-	-do-
87. *Desala*, f. of *Brahmasaraṇu*	-do-	-do-	-do-	*Gaḍāhaḍa*	-do-	Ibid. 221.
88. *Devadhara*, s of *Guṇacaṇdra*	-do-	-do-	*S'rīmāla*	*Haṇḍāüdra*	-do-	-do-

PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
89. *Devakuṁyāra*, f. of *Āsadeva*	-do-		*Oïsavāla*	*Dhaüḷī*	-do-	-do-
90. Devala	*Śre.*				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
91. *Devasīha*	*Śre.*					-do-
92. *Śrī Dirghācārya*, s. of *Śrī Durlabhacarya*			*Brāhmaṇa*	From *Kānyakubja* (Kanoj)	*Bhīma* I. V.S. 1051	EI. x. 78
93. *Dūrgasaraṇa*, f. of *Sāhaṇīya*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Dhaüḷī*	*Bhīma* II. V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220-21
94. *Śrī Durlabhācārya*, f. of *Dīrghācārya*						EI. x. 78.
95. *Śrī Dhaṁdha*			*Brāhmaṇa*		*Sāraṅgadeva*, V.S. 1346 (?)	HIG. iii. 101.
96. *Dhāṁdhā*, f. of *Sāgara*	*Maha.*	Jain	*Ūesavāla*	*Brahmāṇa*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
97. *Dhaṇadeva*, s. of *Śrī Sumiga*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	-do-	*Śrīmāla*	*Haṁḍāüdra*	-do-	EI. viii. 221.
98. *Dhaṇadevī*, sister of *Tejaḥpāla*	*Bāï*	-do-	*Prāgvāṭa*		V.S. 1293	EI. viii. 228.
99. Dhanapati	*Sā.*				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
100. *Dhaṇapāla*, s. of *Mahagharā*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	Mt. Abu. EI. viii. 221.
101. *Dhanasiṁha*, m. of Ratana					V.S. 1352	Cambay, BPSI. 227.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY REFERENCE
102.	*Śrīdhara*, s. of *Śrī Dhaṁdha*			*Brāhmaṇa*		*Sāraṅgadeva*, V.S.1346	HIG. iii. 101.
103.	*Śri Śrīdhara*	*Ṭha* (*kkura*) *Mahāsaṁdhivigrahaka, Dūtaka*				*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1317	IA. vi. 212.
104.	*Dharaṇīdhara*, s. of *Dhaṁdha*	Composer of Inscription				*Sāraṅgadeva*, V.S. 1343	EI. I. 287.
105.	*Dharaṇīdhara*	*Purohita*		*Brāhmaṇa*		V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
106.	*Dharaṇiga*	*Śre.*		*Prāgvāṭa*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1266	IA. xviii. 114.
107.	*Dharaṇiga*, s. of *Gaṅgā* or *Gāgā*	*Ṭha.*		*Prāgvāṭa*		*Bhima*	BPSI. 174. EI. viii. 219-20.
108.	*Dharaṇiyā*	*Rāü.* and *Go.*		-do-		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1264.	IA. xi. 337.
109.	*Dhaüliga*, f. of *Āsacandra*		Jain	*Dharkkaṭa*	*Uṁvarṇī-Kisaraulī*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
110.	*Dhūhaḍa*, f. of *Prabhākara*			*Brāhmaṇa*(?)		*Mūlarāja* II, V.S. 1232	Imp. Ins. 73.
111.	*Gājaṇa*	*Go.*	Jain	*Śrīmāla*	*Phīlaṇī*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
112.	*Gaṅgā* (or *Gāgā*)	*Mudi*		*Prāgvāṭa*	*Caṁdrāvatī*	*Vīradhavala*	Mt. Abu, BPSI. 174. EI. viii. 212.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
113.	*Gaṅgādhara*, s. of *Nānāka* and *Lakṣmī*			*Nāgara*			IA. xi. 103.
114.	*Gāṅgadeva*, s. of *Kuḍa*.	*Śre.*				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1266	IA. xviii.114.
115.	*Gāṅdhī*	*Bhaṇa*		*Bhanasāli* (?)		V.S. 1348	IA. 41.21.
116.	Gajadhara *Kānhaḍa*, f. of *Kaḍabā*	Inscriber				V.S. 1276	BPSI. 174.
117.	Gajapati					V.S. 1276.	BPSI. 227.
118.	*Gajāila*	Inscriber				*Kumāra-pāla*, V.S. 1209	S. Rajputana, BPSI. 172.
119.	*Gauradevī*, m. of *Vālāka*		Jain			V.S. 1299	EI. ii. 29.
120.	Gosala, f. of *Ālhā*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	-do-	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Kāsahrada*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
121.	Gosala, f. of *Vahaḍā*.	*Śre.*	-do-	*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	-do-	Ibid. 221.
122.	*Śrī* Govinda	*Mahākṣapaṭalika*				*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1317	IA. vi. 212.
		Maham; writer.					
123.	Govinda, s. of *Dāmodara*			*Brāhmaṇa* (Vatsa-gotra)	*Sahasacāna*, *Kacchamaṇḍala*	*Bhīma* II, Simha 93	IA. xviii. 109. —110.
124.	Govinda, s. of *Āmaṭa* and *Sajjanī*			*Nāgara Brāhmaṇa* (?)			IA. xi. 102.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
125.	Govinda			*Kapiṣṭala-vaṁśa*	*Ānandapura*	*Sāraṅgadeva*, V.S. 1346	HIG. III. 101.
126.				*Gugalī Brāhmaṇa*		V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 222.
127.	*Gunacandra*, s. of *Saṁdhīraṇa*	*Śre. Pālhā* (suffix) and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Muṇḍasthala-mahātīrtha*	-do-	-do- 221.
128.	*Guṇadhara*	*Sā.*				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
129.	*Guṇarāja*	*Śre.*				-do-	-do-
130.	*Guṇṇma*, s. of *Vikala*			*Moḍha-vaṁśa*	*Stambhatīrtha*		BPSI. 227.
131.	*Śrī Gūmadeva*, s. of Kakkaka				Governor (?) of *Someśvara-pattana*	*Kumārapāla*	Kathiawad, PO. 1.4. 39.
132.				*Gur. mahājana*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1266	IA. xviii. 113.
133.	*Harisarmma*	*Purā.*				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
134.	*Hariyā*, f. of *Hemā.*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Śrīmāla*	*Haṇḍāüdra*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
135.	*Hemā*, s. of *Hariyā*	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
136.	*Hemā*	*Sā*(dhu)				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
137.	*Jagā*, s. of *Jasavīra*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Kāsahrada*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
138.	Jagadeva, s. of *Āsala*	-do-	-do-	*Śrīmāla*	*Haṇḍāüdra*	-do-	IBID. 221.
139.	Jagamalla	Mehara-*rāja*			*Timvānaka*	V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 338.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
140.	*Jagasīha*, s. of *Śrī Līlā*		Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Caṁdrāvatī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
141.	*Jagasīha*, s. of *Āvodhava*	*Mahā*(jani)	-do-	*Oïsavāla*	*Brahmāṇa*	-do-	-do-
142.	*Jālā*, s. of *Jiṇadeva*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	-do-	*Śrīmāla*	*Haṇḍāüdra*	-do-	-do-
143.	*Jālhaṇa*, s. of *Vīkala*			*Moḍhavaṁśa*	*Stambhatīrtha*	V.S. 1352	BPSI. 227.
143a	*Jalhaṇa*	*Ṭha.*		*Moḍha*	Pattana	V.S. 1297	EI. viii. 229.
144.	*Jālhaṇa*	*Sā* (dhu)				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
145.	*Jālhaṇa-devī*, sister of *Śrī Tejaḥpāla*	*Bāï*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*		V.S. 1293	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 227.
146.	*Jāllū*					V.S. 1276	BPSI. 174.
147.	*Jānaka*			*Moḍha Brāhmaṇa*	*Varaṇavāḍā*	*Bhīma* I, V.S. 1120	EI. xxi. 172.
148.	Jasadeva, f. of *Vāhaḍa*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	V.S. 1287.	EI. viii. 221.
149.	Jasodhara	Engraver				*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1218	Kiradu, PO. 1.2. 51
150.	*Jasaḍūya*, f. of *Jegaṇa*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Dhaülī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220-1.
151.	*Jaśahaḍa*, f. of *Sāvadeva*	*Sū* (*tradhāra*) (artisan)				V.S. 1215	RLARBP. 356.
152.	*Jasakara*		Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Gaḍāhāḍa*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
153.	*Jasapāla*	*Kuṭu.*				*Karṇa* I,	EI. I.317.
154.	*Jasapāla*, s. of *Lakṣmīdhara*	*Pāri.*				V.S. 1148	BPSI, 205.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
155.	Jasaraka	Agriculturist or Zamindar		*Brāhmaṇa?*		*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1202	HIG, iii. 200.
156.	*Jasavīra*, f. of *Jagā*	*Sre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Kāsahrada*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220
157.	*Jayatasiṁha*, s. of *Vastupāla*		-do-	-do-		V.S. 1288	Girnar, RLARBP. 328.
158.	*Jayatā*	*Kaṁsā (rā)?*				V.S. 1348	IA. 41.21.
159.	*Jejā*, f. of *Khaṁkhaṇa*	*Sre.* and Go	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Muṇḍasthala*	V.S. 1288	EI. viii. 221.
160.	*Jaitrasiṁha*, s. of *Vājaḍa*	Dhruva		*Kāyastha*		V.S. 1288	Girnar, RLARBP. 329.
161.	Jinadeva, f. of *Jālā*	*Sre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Śrīmāla*	*Haṇḍāūdra*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
162.	*Jhañjhā*	*Sā* (dhu)				V.S. 1348	IA. 41.21.
163.	*Jindā*, f. of *Pālhaṇa*	-do-	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Unvaraṇī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
164.	*Jogā*, s. of *Salakhaṇa*	*Mahaṁ.*	Jain	*Oïsavāla*	*Dhaülī*	-do-	-do- 221.
165.	*Kāṁcana*, s. of Jejja.	Writer		*Kāyastha*		*Mūlarāja*, V.S. 1043	IA. vi. 192; EI. x. 79.
166.	*Kāṁcana*, f. of *Vateśvara*	-do-		-do-		V.S. 1051 *Bhīma* I, V.S. 1056	JBBRAS. Extra, 49.
167.	*Kaḍubā*, s. of *Gajadhara Kānhaḍa*	Inscriber or Engraver				*Vīradhavala*, V.S. 1276	BPSI. 174.
168.	*Kaḍuyā*, s. of *Lakhamaṇa*	*Sre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Haṇḍāūdra*	V.S. 1287	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 221.
169.	*Kaḍūdevī*, m. to *Dedā*			*Pallī*	Sahajigapura	V.S. 1300	Siyal Bet, RLARBP. 253

PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
170. *Kaḍuyarā*, f. of Kuladhara		Jain	*Śrīmāla*		V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
171. *Kānhaḍa*, m. to *Rāṇu*	*Ṭha(kkura)*		*Prāgvāṭa*		V.S. 1288	RLARBP. 328.
172. *Kānhaḍa*, s. of *Vāḍivālā*	*Go.*				V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 337.
173. *Kālhaṇa*, f. of *Āsala.*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii, 221.
174. *Kākala*, s. of *Vīkala*			*Moḍhavaṁśa*	*Stambhatīrtha* (Cambay)	V.S. 1352	BPSI. 227.
175.			*Kapilāvarta Brāhmaṇa*		*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1317	IA. 210-212.
176. Kekkaka, s. of *Vaṭeśvara*	Writer		*Kāyastha*		*Bhīma* I, V.S. 1120	EI. xxi. 172.
177. *Kekā*, s. of *Vaṭeśvara*	*Akṣapāṭalika* and Writer		*Kāyastha*		*Karṇa* I, V.S. 1131	JBBRAS. 26.250.
178. Kekkaka, s. of *Vaṭeśvara*	-do-		-do-		V.S. 1148	EI. I.318.
179. *Keśava*	*Vāhinīpati* and *Senāpati*			Appointed at *Dadhipadra-maṇḍala*	*Jayasiṁha*, V.S. 1196	Dohad, IA. x. 159-60
180. Kesava	*Sā* (dhu)				V.S. 1348	IA. 41.21.
181. *Khalā*, m. of *Bāṭadā*				Built a Jain caitya (at Cambay).		BPSI. 227.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
182.	*Khāṁkhaṇa*, s. of *Jejā*	*Śre.* and *Go*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Muṇḍasthala*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
183.	*Śrī* Khetala (?)	*Mahārāṇa*			In charge of *Sūṇakagrāma*	V.S. 1356	EI. ii. 33.
184.	*Khelā*	*Sā.*		Bhana-(*sāli*)		V.S. 1348	IA. 41.21.
185.	*Khelāditya*	*Ṭha* (kkura) *Mahārājaputra, sāndhivigrahika*, writer.				*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1209	Keradu, BPSI. 172.
186.	*Khimaḍa*, s. of *Vīkala*			*Moḍha-vaṁśa*,	*Stambhatīrtha*	V.S. 1352	BPSI. 227
187.	*Khīmvasīha*, s. of Dehlana	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāta*	*Uṁvaraṇī-kīsaraūlī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
188.	*Śrī Khīmvasīha*, s. of *Dharaṇiga* and *Tihuṇadevī.*		-do-	-do-	*Caṁdrāvatī*	-do-	-do-
189.	*Kīkaka*, s. of *Āladitya*	Engraver				*Kumārapāla*, Valabhi S. 850	BPSL 184.
190.	*Kilhaṇa-deva*, s. of *Chhaḍā Soḍhala*	Shop-keeper (*Haṭṭavaṇika*)				Arjunadeva, V.S. 1320.	IA. xi. 241.
191.	*Kuṁḍā*	*Sā*(dhu)				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
192.	*Kuḍā*, f. of *Gāṅgadeva*	*Śre.*				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1266	IA. xviii. 113.
193.	Kumarabhada, s. of *Śrī Sohaḍa*						
194.	*Kumārdevī*, w. of *Āsarāja*					V.S. 1295	EI. ii. 26.
195.	*Kumārasiṅgha*, s. of *Ballāla*	*Daṇḍa* (*nāyaka*) and *Rāja*(putra)		*Prāgvāṭa*			Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 219
196.	*Kumārsiṁha*, s. of *Vāhaḍa*	*Sūtradhāra* and Engraver				*Ajayapāla*	Unjha, PO. 1.4.40.
197.	*Kuṁrapāla*	*Sā*(dhu)					RLARBP. 329.
198.	*Kumara*, s. of *Ṭha.* Vaijala	*Ṭha*(kkura) *Mahākṣapaṭalika* (writer)		*Moḍha*		V.S. 1348 *Mularaja* II, V.S. 1232.	IA. 41. 21. Imp. Ins. 73.
199.	*Kṛṣṇa*, s. of Ratna	Composer, known as *Bāla-Sarasvatī*					IA. x. 103.
200.	*Kolā*, f. of *Āmvā*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Oïsa*(uesa)-*vāla*	*Kāsahrada*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
201.	*Kuladhara*, s. of *Kaḍuyarā*		-do-	*Śrīmāla*		-do-	-do-
202.	*Śrī Lakhamā-devī*, d. in-law of *Śrī Tejaḥpāla*						-do- 226.
203.	*Lakhamaṇa*, f. of *Kaḍuyā*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Haṇḍāüdra*	V.S. 1287	-do- 221.
204.	*Lakhamaṇa*, f. of *Āsū*	-do-	-do-	*Śrīmāla*	-do-	-do-	-do-

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
205.	*Lākhṇa*, s. of Vohitha	-do-	-do-	*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	-do-	-do-
206.	*Lakṣmī*, w. of *Nānākabhūti*						IA. xi. 103.
207.	*Lakṣmīdhara*	Composer				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1265.	Mt. Abu, IA. xi. 220.
208.	*Lakṣmīdhara*, f. of *Ṭha. Jasapāla*	*Pari.*					BPSI. 205.
209.	*Lakṣma*...s. of *Śrī Vidyārāma*	*Mahāmātya* (?)		*Kāyastha* (?)		*Kumārāpala*, V.S. 1202.	HIG. III. 200.
210.	*Lalitā-devī*, d. of *Ṭha. Kāṅhaḍa* and *Ṭha. Rāṇu*	*Ṭha. Mahaṁ*		*Prāgvāṭa*		V.S. 1288	Girnar, RLARBP. 328.
211.	*Lāsaḍa*	Agriculturist or Zamindar		*Brāhmaṇa*		*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1202	HIG. III. 200.
212.	*Lāvaṇyaśarmā*					*Sāraṅgadeva*, V.S. 1346	Ibid. 101.
213.	*Lāvaṇyasiṁha*, s. of *Tejaḥpala* and *Anupamādevī*		Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Caṁdrāvatī*	V.S. 1276 & 1287	BPSI. 174, EI. viii. 212.
214.	*Śrī Līlādevī*, d. of *Samarsīha* & *Rāṇaka, Cāhumāna*					*Bhīma* II. V.S. 1263	IA. vi. 195.
215.	*Līlukā*, w. of Malladeva					V.S. 1276	BPSI. 174.
216.	*Śrī Līlā*, d. of *Śrī Gāgā*	*Mahaṁ.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Caṁdrāvatī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 219-20.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
217.	*Śrī Luṇapasāka*	*Daṇḍa (nāyaka)*			*Udayapura*	*Ajayapāla*, V.S. 1229	IA. xviii. 347.
218.	*Lūnapasāka*, s. of *Ānā*	Solu., *Rāṇaka*				*Jayavaṁtasiṁha* V.S. 1280	IA. vi. 197.
219.	*Śrī Lūuṇapasāja*	*Rāṇaka*				*Tribhuvanapāla*, V.S. 1299	IA. vi. 208-10.
220.	*Śrī Lūnapasāja-deva*	*Rāṇaka*					IBID. 210-12.
221.	*Śrī Lūṇasīha*, s. of *Śrī Līlā*	*Mahaṁ*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Caṁdrāvatī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 219-20.
222.	*Śrī Lūṇasiṁha*, s. of *Śrī Tejaḥpāla* and *Anupamādevī*	*Mahaṁ*	-do-	-do-	*Aṇahilapura*	V.S. 1287	Ibid.
223.	*Lūṇasīhadhara*, s. of *Sohaṇa*	*Ṭha*(kkura)				*Arjunadeva*, V.S. 1320.	IA. xi. 243.
224.	*Madana*, s. of *Vāmadeva*	*Sūtradhāra*			Built the fort *Vaidyeśa* at Dabhoi	*Vīsaladeva*, V. S. 1311	EI. i. 20.
225.	*Madanasīha*	*Śre.*				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
226.	*Mādhava*, s. of *Parāśara*	*Dū*(taka)		*Nāgara*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1266	IA. xviii. 113.
227.	*Madhusūdana*, g.f. of *Paṇḍita Mahidhara* and f. of *Rudrāditya*					*Karṇa* I	JBBRAS. 26. 250.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
228.	*Madhusūdana*, f. of Somaravi	(Witness)		*Brāhmaṇa*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1266	IA. xviii. 114.
229.	*Śrī Madhusūdana*	*Mahāsāndhi, Mahāmātya*				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
230.	*Meghā*	*Rāiütta*		*"Geḍiā"*		V.S. 1282	EI. ii. 28.
231.	*Mahādeva*	*Ṭhakkura*				*Karna* I, V.S. 1148.	EI. i. 317.
232.	*Śrī Mahādeva*	*Mahāmātya*				*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1216	PO. I. 2. 42.
233.	*Mahagharā*, f. of *Dhaṇapāla*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Oïsavala*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
234.	*Mahanasīha*	*Sā*(dhu ?)				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
235.	*Mahaṇasiṁha*, s. of *Padmasiṁha*, s. of *Cāhaḍa*			*Śrīmāla*		V.S. 1320	PO. II. 231.
236.	*Mahīpāla*, s. of *Vālaharā*	*Mahaṁ.*		*Prāgvāṭa*	*Surāṣṭramaṇḍala*		IA. xviii. 113.
237.	*Mahīpāla*	*Paṇḍita*, writer		*Kāyastha* of *Gauḍa-anvaya*			IA. 41.203.
238.	*Mahīpāla*	*Pārī.*				V.S. 1300	Siyal Bet, RLARBP. 253.
239.	*Mākū* (or *Māu*), sister of *Tejaḥpāla*	*Bāī*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*		V.S. 1276, 1293	BPSI. 174; EI. viii. 228.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
240.	*Śrī* Malladeva, s. of *Āsarāja*	*Mahaṁ.*	-do-	-do-	*Aṇahilapura*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 219.
241.	Malladeva, m. to *Līlukā*	Saciva					
242.	Ma (lla)	*Rā, Upadraṣṭā*				V.S. 1276	BPSI. 174.
243.	*Śri Māladeva*	*Rāṇaka, Mahāmātya*			at *Aṇahilapura*	*Vīsaladeva,* V.S. 1318 Arjunadeva, V.S. 1320	EI. v. 103. Veraval, IA. xi. 241.
244.	*Malhaṇa*, s. of Govinda and *Suhavā*			*Nāgara*		V.S. 1328	IA. xi. 103.
245.	*Mālima* Modina	*Māsapāṭhaka*	Muslim				
246.	*Māṇibhadra*, f. of *Ālhaṇa*	*Śre.* and *Go.*		*Prāgvāṭa*	*Uṁvaraṇī-kisaraūlī*	Arjunadeva, V. S. 1320	IA. xi. 243. EI. viii. 220.
247.	*Masāhaṇī* (*Pethaḍa*)					*Vīsaladeva,* V.S. 1308	Ahmadabad, EI. v. 103.
248.	Mayadhara	*Sā* (dhu)				V.S. 1348	IA. 41.21.
249.	*Māü*, sister of *Tejaḥpāla*	*Bāï*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*		V. S. 1293	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 227.
250.	Mehara					*Sāraṅgadeva,* V.S. 1343	EI. i. 279.
251.	Mehera *Ṭhepaka*					V.S. 1386	IA. 41.21.
252.	*Moṣā*(*khā*)ditya	Puro(hita)				-do-	IA. xv. 360.
253.	*Murā*	*Sā*(dhu)				V.S. 1287	IA. 41.21.
254.	*Nāgadeva*, f. of *Āmvadeva*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*		EI. viii. 220.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
255.	*Nāgaḍa*	Agriculturist or Zamindar		*Brāhmaṇa* (?)		*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1202	HIG. III. 200. IA. 41.21.
256.	*Nāgaḍa*	*Śre.*				V.S. 1348	IA. 41.21.
257.	*Śrī Nāgaḍa*	*Mahāmātya*				*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1317	IA. vi. 210.
258.	*Nāgārjuna* (*Kavirāja*)					*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1266	IA. xviii. 113.
259.	*Nāgapāla*	*Sā*(dhu)				V.S. 1348	IA. 41.21.
260.	*Nāhaḍa*, f. of *Pūrnasīha*	Engraver (sculptor)				*Sāraṅgadeva*, V.S. 1343	EI. i. 279.
261.	*Nānāka-bhūti*, m. to *Lakṣmī*, s. of Govinda and *Suhavā*			*Nāgara* (*Brāhmaṇa*)		V.S. 1328	IA. xi. 103.
262.	*Narasiṁha*	" Composer of " Inscription				*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1218	PO. I.2.51.
263.	*Nārāyaṇa*			*Brāhmaṇa*		*Sāraṅgadeva*, V.S. 1346(?)	HIG. III. 101.
264.	*Nehā*, f. of *Sālhā*	*Śre.*	Jain	*Dharkkaṭa*	*Uṁvaraṇī*	V.S. 1287	EI. VIII. 220.
265.	*Noradīna Pīroja*		Muslim			Arjunadeva, V.S. 1320	Veraval, IA. xi. 241.
266.	*Padamalā-devī*, sister of *Tejaḥpāla*		Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*		V.S. 1276	BPSI. 174.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
267.	*Padmalā*, -do-		-do-	-do-		V.S. 1293	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 227.
268.	*Padmasīha*, s. of *Vālā*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	-do-	-do-	*Gaḍāhaḍa*	V.S. 1287	-do- 221.
269.	*Padmasiṁha*, s. of *Ṭha Vāhaḍa*	*Mahaṁ*		*Śrīmāla*	*Śrī* Pattana	V.S. 1305	Girnar, RLARBP. 358.
270.	*Padmasiṁha*, s. of Sajjana	Sculptor, Chief of *Sūtradhāra*				*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1311	Dabhoi, EI. i. 32.
271.	*Padmasīha*	*Sā*(dhu)				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
272.	*Pāhuya*, f. of *Jiṇadeva*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Gaḍāhaḍa*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
273.	*Śrīpāla*	'Poet Laureate'				*Kumārāpāla*	EI. i. 300.
274.	*Pālhana*	*Sūtradhāra*, Engraver				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1265	Mt. Abu, IA. xi. 220.
275.	-do- s. of *Jīndā*	*Śre.* and Go.	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Uṁvaraṇī-Kisaraūlī*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
276.	-do- s. of Sohi		-do-	*Oïsavāla*	*Kāsahrada*	-do-	-do- -do-
277.	-do- s. of *Ṭha. Pethaḍa*			*Prāgvāṭa* and Gurjara		V.S. 1343	Shiyal Bet, Kathiawad RLARBP. 254.
278.	*Pālhaṇa*	"Written & engraved by"				V.S. 1328	IA. xi. 103.
279.	-do- f. of *Udayapāla*	*Mahā.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Brahmāṇa*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
280.	*Parāśara*, f. of *Du. Mādhava*	*Dū.*		*Nāgara Jñātī*			IA. xviii. 112-14.
281.	*Pāsa*, f. of *Sādā*	*Śre.*	Jain	*Dharkkaṭa*	*Uṁvaraṇī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
282.	*Pāsacaṁdra*, f. of *Pūnacaṁdra*	*Śre.*	-do-	*Oïsa(uesa) vāla*	*Kāsahrada*	-do-	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 220.
283.	*Pāsadeva*, s. of *Vīsala*	*Mahā (jani)& Go.*	-do-	*Śrīmāla*	*Brahmāṇa*	-do-	Ibid.
284.	*Pāsila*, f. of *Pūnuya*		-do-	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Dhaülī*	-do-	Ibid.
285.	*Pāsavīra*, s. of *Sājaṇa*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	-do-	*Prāgvāṭa*	-do-	-do-	Ibid.
286.	*Pethaḍa*, s. of *Pūrnasīṁha* and *Alhaṇadevī*					V.S. 1276	BPSI. 174.
287.	*Pethaḍa*	*Masāhaṇī*				V.S. 1308	Ahmedabad, EI. v.103.
288.	*Pethaḍa*, f. of *Pālhaṇa*	*Ṭha.*		*Prāgvāṭa* and a Gurjara		V.S. 1343	RLARBP. 254.
289.	*Pethaḍa*	Member of the *Pañcakula*				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
290.	*Śrī Purāṁtaka*	*Sthānapati* of *Śrī Navaghaṇadevīya*				Arjunadeva, V.S. 1320	Vevaval, IA. XI. 241.
291.	*Pūnā*, s. of *Vohaḍi*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Dhaülī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220-1.
292.	*Punā*, f. of *Sāhalā*	-do-	-do-	*Śrīmāla*		-do-	Ibid.
293.	*Pūnacaṁdra*, s. of *Pāsacaṁdra*	-do-	-do-	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Kāsahrada*	-do-	-do-
295.	*Pūnadeva*, f. of Vosari	-do-	-do-	-do-	*Gaḍāhaḍa*	-do-	Ibid. 221.
296.	*Punaḍa*, s. of *Āmiga*	*Mahājani*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Brahmāṇa*	V.S. 1287	Ibid. 220.

PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
297. *Śrī Pūnapāla*, m. to *Mahaṁ Śrī Pūnadevī*	*Mahaṁ*	-do-	-do-		V.S. 1293	Ibid. 227.
298. *Pūnadevī*, m. to. *Mahaṁ. Pūnapāla*	*Mahaṁ*	-do-	-do-		-do	Ibid.
299. *Prabhākara*, s. of *Dhūhaḍa*	"*Śayyāgrāhaka of Karpūradevī*"		*Brāhmaṇa Sāmavedī Lāṇṭhiśiva-gotra*		*Mūlarāja* II V.S. 1232	Imp. Ins. 73.
300. *Śrī Prabhākara*	*Mahāsāndhi-vigrahaka*				*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1202	HIG. III. 200.
301. *Prahlādana*	Writer		*Brāhmaṇa* (Dvija ?)		*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1311	Dabhoi, EI. i. 20.
302. *Śrī Pratāpasiṁha*, s. of *Śrī Vatsarāja*	*Mahāmaṇḍalika*		*Porityavoḍaṇa-anvaya*			IA. 41. 203.
303. *Pṛthimadevī*, w. of *Padmasiṁha*			*Śrīmāla-kula*			PO. II. 227.
304. *Puruṣottama*, s. of *Govinda* and *Suhavā*			*Nāgara*		V.S. 1328	Kodinar, IA. xi. 102.
305. *Puruṣottama*, s. of *Bakulasvāmī*, g.s. of *Somadeva*					V.S. 1288	Girnar, RLARBP. 331.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
306.	*Śrī Puḷugideva*	*Ṭha.* and *Bṛhat-puruṣa*				*Arjunadeva*, V.S. 1320	Veraval, IA. xi. 241.
307.	*Pūnapāka*	*Pāri* and Writer				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 338.
308.	*Puṇasīha*, s. of *Nāhaḍa*					*Sāraṅgadeva*	EI. i. 279.
309.	*Pūmuya*, s. of *Pāsila*	*Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Dhaülī*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220-1.
310.	*Pūniga*, f. of *Vāghā*	*Śre* and *Go.*	-do-	*Oīsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍa*	-do-	Ibid.
311.	*Putiga*, s. of *Śaṅkara*		*Śrāvaka*	*Prāgvāṭa-vaṁśa*	*Naḍulapura*		Ratanpur, BPSI. 205.
312.	*Putiga*, s. of *Śubhaṅkara*			-do-	*Śrī Nadrāla-pura*	*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1209	BPSI. 172.
313.	*Pūrṇasiṁha*, s. of *Malladeva* and *Ālhaṇadevī*						BPSI. 174.
314.	*Pūrṇasimha*, f. of *Vikrama*	*Mantrī* Writer				*Sāraṅgadeva*, V. S. 1343	EI. I. 279.
315.	*Pūrṇasīha*	Engraver (*śilpi*)				-do-	Ibid.
316.	*Rājadeva*	Agriculturist or Zamindar		*Brāhmaṇa* (?)		*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1202	HIG. III. 200.
317.	*Rājuya*, f. of *Sāvadeva*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Dhaülī*	V.S. 1287	Mt. Abu, EI. viii.220-1.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
318.	*"Rājaputra"*	"one of the persons responsible for protecting the temple of *Neminātha*"		*Pratīhāra-vaṁśa*	*Bhālibhāḍā*	-do-	Ibid. 222.
319.	*Rālhā*, s. of Brahmadeva	*Sre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Kāsahrada*	-do-	Ibid. 220.
320.	*Rāmacandra*, s. of *Dhaṇacandra*	-do-	-do-	-do-	*Brahmāṇa*	-do-	Ibid. 221.
321.	*Śrī Rāmadeva*	*Ṭha* and *Br. Pu.*				Arjundeva, V.S. 1311	Veraval, IA. xi. 241.
322.	*Śrī Raṇasiṁha*	Mehara *Rāja*			*Timbānaka*	V.S. 1272.	RLARBP. 254.
323.	*Śrī Rāṇiga*, s. of *Śrī Gāgā*	Maham.	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Caṁdrāvatī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 219-20.
324.	*Śrī Rāṇiga*, f. of *Śrī Āṁbāka*			*Śrīmāla*		V.S. 1222	Girnar, RLARBP. 359.
325.	*Rāṇū*, m. of *Śrī Lalitādevī*	*Ṭha.*		*Prāgvāṭa*		V.S. 1288	-do- Ibid. 328.
326.	*Rāsala*, f. of *Āsadhara*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	-do-	*Uṁvaraṇī*	V.S. 1287	Mt. Abu, EI, viii. 220.
327.	*Ratnasiṁha*, s. of *Śrī Līlā*	*Ṭha.*	-do-	-do -	*Caṁdrāvatī*	-do-	Ibid.
328.	Ratana, sister of Vikala, m. to *Dhanasiṁha*				Cambay	V.S. 1352	Cambay, BPSI. 227.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
329.	Ratana	*Śre.*				V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
330.	*Śrī Ratanapāla*	*Mahāmātya*				*Bhīmadeva* II, V.S. 1266	IA. xviii. 113.
331.	*Ratanapāla*, s. of *Mahīpāla*	*Pāri.*				V.S. 1300	Siyal Bet, RLARBP. 253.
332.				*Rāṭhīya*	*Deülavāḍā* etc.	V.S. 1287	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 204-7
333.	Ravi Deva, s. of *Vīhaḍa*	One of the people responsible for protection of *Neminātha* temple.		*Brāhmaṇa Kṛṣṇātriya*-gotra *Rāyaka-vāla-jñāti*	Navali (Nauli, Udaipur)	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1263	VII, AIOCR. 647.
334.	*Rayaṇādevī*, w. of *Lūṇasīha*					V.S. 1290	Ibid. 226.
335.	*Rāüla* Uccadeva	*Go.*				V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 337.
336.	*Śrī Rūkanadīna*	*Amīra*		Muslim	Ruling at Hurmuja	Arjunadeva, V.S. 1320	Ibid. 242.
337.	*Rudrāditya*, f. of *Mahī* and g. s. of *Madhusūdana*			*Brāhmaṇa Māṇḍavya* gotra		*Karṇa* I	JBBRAS. 26. 250.
338.	Rudrasuri, s. of *Lakṣmīdhara*	Writer				*Valabhī samvat*	BPSI. 184.
339.	*Sādā*, s. of *Pāsa*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Dharkkaṭa*	*Uṁvarṇī-Kisaraülī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OK DESIGNATION	RELI-GION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
340.	*Sādā*, s. of *Āsala*	-do-	-do-	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Haṇḍāüdra*	-do-	Ibid. 221.
341.	*Sāhlā*, s. of *Pūnā*	-do-	-do-	-do -	*Uṁvaraṇī-Kisaraülī*	-do-	-do- 220.
342.	-do-	-do-	-do-	*Śrīmāla*	-do-	-do-	-do-
343.	*Sālhā*, s. of *Nehā*	-do-	-do-	*Dharkkaṭa*	-do-	-do-	-do-
344.	*Sāhaṇīya*, s. of *Dugasaraṇa*	-do-	-do-	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Dhaülī*	-do-	-do-
345.	*Sājana*, f. of *Pāsavīra*	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
346.	*Sājana*, f. of *Bholā*	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
347.	Sajjana, f. of *Padma-siṁha*	*Sūtradhāra* (sculptor).					EI. i. 32.
348.	*Sajjanī*, w. of *Āmaṭa*						IA. xi. 102.
349.	*Sāṇḍaka*, s. of *Sūtra. Vācā.*					Mehera *Ṭhepaka* V.S. 1386	IA. xv. 360.
350.	*Sāndhīrana*, f. of *Guṇacaṁdra.*	*Śre., Pālhā*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Muṇḍasthala*	V.S. 1352	EI. viii. 220-1.
351.	*Sādhū*					V.S. 1287	BPSI. 227.
352.	*Sāgara*, s. of *Śrī Sāliga*, f. of *Śrī Gāgā*	*Ṭha.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Caṁdrāvatī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 219-20.
353.	*Sāgara*, s. of *Dhāndhā*	*Mahā*	-do-	*Oīsa(Uisa-)vāla*	*Brahmāṇa*	-do-	Ibid. 220.

PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
354. *Śrī Saṅgrāmasiṁhadeva*	*Rāṇaka*				*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1317	IA. vi. 211.
355. *Sāṭā*, f. of Varadeva	*Mahā(jani)*	Jain	*Uesavāla*	*Brahmāṇa*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
356. Sahajiga, s. of *Vāliga*			*Kāyastha*	Stambhapura (Cambay)	V.S. 1288	RLARBP. 331.
357. *Sālivāhana*, s. of *Bharaṭha*	*Ṭha.* and *Paṇḍita*		*Brāhmaṇa* (?)		V.S. 1215	RLARBP. 356.
358. *Śāliga*, s. of *Subhaṅkara*		*Śrāvaka* (Jain)	*Prāgvāṭavaṁśa*	*Nadrālapura*	*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1209	Kiradu, VPSI 172.
359. -do- s. of *Śaṅkara*		-do-	-do-	Nadulapura		Ratanpur, Ibid. 205.
360. *Śrī Śāliga*, s. of *Śrī Sāvadeva*, f. of *Śrī Sāgara*	*Ṭha.*	-do-	-do-	*Caṁdrāvatī*	*Bhima* II, V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 219-20.
361. *Śrī Sāmantasiṁha*				In charge of *Saurāṣṭra*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1275	BPSI. 204-5.
362. *Śrī Sāmantasiṁhadeva*	*Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka*			In charge of Vardhipathaka	*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1317	IA. vi. 210.
363. *Sāmantasiṁha*, s. of Padmasimha	Saciva of Arjunadeva		*Śrīmālākula*	In charge of *Saurāṣṭra*	Arjunadeva, V.S. 1320	PO. II, 231.
364. *Sāmata*	*Śre*					IA. 41.21.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
365.	*Śaṅkara*, m. to *Lakṣmī*	*Ṭha.*		*Pallī*		V.S. 1300	Siyal Bet, Kathiawad, RLARBP. 253.
366.	*Saṅkarasīha*	*Rāṇaka*			at *Ubhaloḍa-pathaka*	*Jayasiṁha*, V.S. 1196	Dohad, IA. x. 158.
367.	*Sākhaḍā*			*Pratī (hara)*	in charge of *Talājā*		IA. xi. 338.
368.	*Sākū*, sister of *Tejaḥpāla*		Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*		V.S. 1276 and 1293	BPSI. 174; EI. viii. 228.
369.	*Salakhaṇa*, f. of *Jogā*	*Mahaṁ.*	-do-	*Oïsavāla*	*Dhaülī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220-1.
370.	*Salakhaṇa*, f. of *Vālaṇa*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	-do-	-do-	*Kāsahrada*	V.S. 1287	Ibid.
371.	*Śrī Salakhanasiṁha*	*Mahāmātya*				V.S. 1305	Girnar, RLARBP. 358.
372.	*Salaṣka(siṁha)*, s. of *Padmasiṁha*			*Śrīmāla-kula*	Governor of *Saurāṣṭra* and then of *Lāṭa*	*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1320	Ibid. 356 and PO. 2. 227.
373.	*Śrī Sāu*, sister of *Tejaḥpāla*		Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*		V.S. 1293	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 228.
374.	*Sāvadeva*, s. of *Rājuya*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	-do-	-do-	*Dhaülī*	V.S. 1287	Ibid. 220-1.
375.	*Śri Sāvadeva*, f. of *Śrī Śāliga*	*Ṭha.*	-do-	-do-	*Caṁdrāvatī*	-do-	Ibid. 219-20.
376.	*Sāvadeva*, s. of *Jasahaḍa*	*Sū(tradhāra) śilpi*				V.S. 1205	RLARBP. 356.

PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELI-GION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
377. *Sāvaḍa*, f. of *Śrīpāla*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Unnvaraṇī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
378. Sidhara	Puro(hita)				*Sāraṅgadeva* V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
379. *Saravaṇa*, f. of *Saṁ. Siṁharāja*	*Saṁghavī*					Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 204.
380. *Śrīmat Sīkara*	*Ṭha.* and *Mahā-saṁdhi-vigrahika.*				*Mūlarāja* II, V.S. 1232	Imp. Ins. 73.
381. *Samarā*	*Sā* (dhu)				*Sāraṅgadeva*, V.S. 1348	IA. 41.21.
382. *Śrī Sāpala*, s. of *Āsadeva*	*Śre.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*		V.S. 1315	Siyal Bet, Kathiawad, RLARBP. 253.
383. *Sātikumāra*, f. of *Somasīha*	*Ṭha.* and *Aksapaṭalika*		*Kāyastha*		*Bhīma* II, V.S.1283	IA. vi. 200.
384. *Śrī Sāṁtupa*	Writer and *Mahāmāṭya*				*Jayasiṁha*, V.S. 1184	HIG. iii. 196.
385. *Sāḍhala*	*Śre.*				*Sāraṅgadeva*, V.S. 1348	IA. 41.21.
386. *Śrī Sāḍhala*	*Mahaṁ.*		*Nāgara*		V.S. 1350	Wadhavan, RLARBP. 241.
387. *Sāṭhāka*	Agriculturist or Zamindar				*Kumārapāla*, V.S.1202	

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
388.	*Saṁtoṣā*, m. of *Śrī Suhaḍā*	*Ṭhakurājñi*		*Moḍha*		V.S. 1297	EI. viii. 229.
389.	*Saṁusariya*						IA. xi. 337.
390.	*Sīlātri*, s. of *Vālaṇa*	*Go.*		*Brāhmaṇa* (?)		V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 337.
391.	*Sīlaṇa*, f. of *Delhaṇa*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
392.	*Śrī Śivarāja*	Mahattama and *Dūta.*				*Mūlarāja*, V.S. 1051	EI. x. 79.
393.	*Sītā*, w. of *Someśvara*			*Nāgara*			IA. xi. 102.
394.	*Śrī* Sobhanadeva	*Mahaṁ*			of *Vāmanasthali*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1266	IA. xviii. 113.
395.	*Soḍhaladevī*	*Bāï*				*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1308	EI. v. 103.
396.	*Sohagā*, s. of *Tejaḥpāla*						BPSI. 174.
397.	*Sohaḍa*, f. of Kumarabhada	*Śre.*				V.S. 1295	EI. 2.24.
398.	Sohi, f. of *Pālhaṇa*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Oïsa* (Uesa)*vāla*		V.S. 1287	Mt. Abu, EI. viii. 220.
399.	*Sohagāyā*, s. of *Tejaḥpāla*	*Bāï*	-do-	*Prāgvāṭa*		V.S. 1293	Ibid. 229.
400.	Sohiya, f. of *Āsvesara*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	-do-	-do-	*Muṇḍasthala*	V.S. 1287	Ibid. 221.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELI-GION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
401.	*Sokhukā*, w. of *Vastupāla* and d. of *Ṭha. Kānhaḍa* and *Ṭha. Rāṇu.*	*Mahaṁ.*	-do-	-do-		V.S. 1288	Girnar, RLARBP. 331.
402.	*Śrī* Sokhu, 2nd w. of *Vastupāla*	*Mahaṁ.*	-do-	-do-		V.S. 1288-89	Ibid. 361; EI. viii.225.
403.	*Solā*, s. of *Chāḍa*	*Go.*				V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 338.
404.	*Śrī* Solanadeva, s. of *Vilhaṇadeva.*	*Rāja* (putra)		of *Muhilaü*? family			IA. xviii. 344.
405.	*Solūyā*	Meha (ra)				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1266	IA. xviii. 113.
406.	*Someśvara*	"Composer"		*Brāhmaṇa*		*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1311	EI. I.31.
407.	*Śrī Somasiṁhadeva*	*Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rājakula.*				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 219-22.
408.	*Śrī Someśvaradeva*	*Rāṇaka* and *Br. Pu.*				Arjunadeva, V.S. 1320	IA. xi. 241.
409.	-do-	*Ṭha* and Purohita		*Brāhmaṇa*		V.S. 1288	RLARBP. 329.
410.	*Someśvara*, m. to *Sitā*	*Mantrī*		*Nāgara, Kapiṭha gotra*	*Guñjagrāma*	*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1328	Kodinar, IA. xi. 102.
411.	*Śrī Somasiṁha*, s. of of *Sātikumāra*	*Ṭha* and *Mahākṣa-paṭalika*		*Kāyastha*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	IA. vi. 202.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
412.	-do-	-do-		-do-		V.S. 1288	Ibid. 204.
413.	-do-	-do-		-do-		V.S. 1299	Ibid. 209.
414.	*Suhavā*, w. of *Govinda*						IA. xi. 102.
415.	*Soma*, s. of *Vahudeva*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Dharkkaṭa*	*Kisaraüli-Uṁvaraṇī*	*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
416.	*Śrī Soma* s. of *Ṭha. Śrī Caṇḍa*	*Ṭha*	-do-	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Aṇahilapura*	*Bhīma* II	Ibid. 219.
417.	*Soma*	*Ṭha*, Writer				V.S. 1352	Cambay BPSI. 227.
418.	*Somadeva*, f. of *Bakulasvāmī and* g.f. of *Puruṣottama*	Engraver (*śilpi*)				V.S. 1288	Girnar, RLARBP. 331.
419.	*Somaravi*, s. of *Madhusūdana*	Witness to a land grant		*Brāhmaṇa*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1266	IA. xviii. 114.
420.	*Śrī Somarājadeva*	*Mahā.* and *Prati.*			In charge of *Śrī Surāṣṭramaṇḍala*	-do-	-do-
421.	*Śrī Someśvara*	*Mahāmātya*				*Ajayapāla*, V.S. 1229	IA. xviii. 344.
422.	*Someśvara*			*Brāhmaṇa Rāyakavāla*		*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1263	VII. AIOCR 647.
423.	*Śrī Suhaḍā*, 2nd w. of *Śrī Tejaḥpāla*	*Mahaṁ.*	Jain	*Moḍha*		V.S. 1297	EI. VIII. 229.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
424.	*Sumacanda*	*Jyotiṣa*				V.S. 1297	IA. xviii. 112-14
425.	*Śrī Sumaladevī*	*Mahārāṇī*				*Bhīma*, V.S. 1295	IA. vi. 205.
426.	*Sūmesīra*, s. of *Ācā.*	*Vya* (Merchant?) *Go.*				V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 338.
427.	*Sūmaṇa*	*Sūtradhara*				*Vīsaladeva*, V.S. 1308	EI. v. 103.
428.	Sumiga, f. of *Dhaṇdeva*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Śrīmāla*	*Haṇḍāüdra*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
429.	*Sūradeva*	Agriculturist or Zamindar		*Brāhmaṇa*		*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1202	HIG. III. 200
430.	*Śrī Ṭha. Suraja*	*Mahāsandhivigrahika Dūtaka*				*Bhīma* II V.S. 1263	VII AIOCR. 648.
431.	*Tejā*	*Pūgī*				*Sāraṅgadeva*, V. S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
432.	*Tejā*	*Ṭha.*				-do-	-do-
433.	*Tejaḥpāla*, s. of *Āsaraja*	*Ṭha.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Aṇahilapura*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 219-20.
434.	-do-	*Mahaṁ*	-do-	-do-		V.S. 1276	BPSI. 174.
435.	*Śrī Tihuṇadesvī*, w. of *Mahaṁ. Śrī Dharaṇiga.*	*Ṭha.*	-do-	-do-	*Caṁdrāvatī*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 219-20.
436.	*Thiradeva*, f. of *Vīruya*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Śrīmāla*	*Haṇḍāüdra*	V.S. 1287	Ibid. 221.
437.	*Ṭhepaka*	Mehera (king)				V.S. 1386	IA. xv. 360.
438.	*Tribhuvana-devī*, w. of *Dharaṇiga.*					V.S. 1276	BPSI. 174.

PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
439. *Tripurāntaka*	Appointed a Mahattara				*Sāraṅgadeva*, V.S. 1343	EI. I. 271.
440. *Trīkama*	*Sā*(dhu)				-do- V.S. 1348	IA. 41. 21.
441. *Uccadeva*	*Rāüla*				V.S. 1264	IA. xi. 338.
442. *Udaya*	*Mantrī*		*Śrīmāla-kula*		*Arjunadeva*, V.S. 1320	PO. II. 230.
443. *Udayapāla*, s. of *Pālhana*	*Mahā* (jani) and Go.	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Brāhmaṇa*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
444. *Śrī Udala*, s. of *Śrī Dharaniga*	*Ṭha.*	-do-	-do-	*Caṁdrāvatī*	-do-	Ibid. 219-20.
445. *Uragadevī*, d. of *Śrī Lūṇasīha*		-do-	-do-		V.S. 1290	Ibid. 226.
446. *Vāghā*, s. of *Pūṇiga*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	-do-	*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	V.S. 1287	Ibid. 221.
447. *Vāhaḍa*, f. of *Kumārasiṁha*	*Sūtradhāra* and Engraver				V.S. 1288	RLARBP. 329.
448. *Vohaḍi*, f. of *Pūnā*	*Śre.* and *Go.*	Jain	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Dhaüli*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
449. *Vāhaḍa*, s. of *Jasadeva*	-do-	-do-	*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	-do-	-do-
450. *Vāhaḍa*, s. of *Gosala*	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
451. *Vāhaḍa*	*Ṭha.*	-do-	*Śrīmāla*	Pattana	V.S. 1305	RLARBP. 358.
452. *Vāhaḍa*, s. of *Udaya*	*Mantrī*		*Śrīmāla-kula*			PO. II. 229.
453. *Vahudā*	*Śre.* and *Go.*		*Oïsavāla*	*Sāhilavāḍā*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.
454. *Vahudeva*, f. of *Soma*	-do-	-do-	*Dharkkaṭa*	*Uṁvaraṇī*	-do-	Ibid. 220.

	PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
455.	*Śrī Vahudeva*	*Ṭha.* and *Mahāsandhivigrahika, Dūtaka*				*Bhīma* II, V.S. 1288	IA. vi. 204.
456.	*Vājada*, f. of *Jaitrasiṁha*	*Dhruva*, Writer		*Kāyastha*		V.S. 1288	RLARBP. 328.
457.	*Vājaḍa*, s. of *Ānaka*	Writer		-do-	*Staṁbhapura*	V.S. 1288	Girnar, RLARBP. 331.
458.	*Vālaṇa*, s. of *Salakhaṇa*	*Śre.*	Jain	*Uesavāla*	*Kāsahrada*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
459.	*Vālana*	*Paṇḍita*, Writer			*Brahmāṇa*	*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1208	EI. i. 293.
460.	*Vālā*, f. of *Padmasīha*	*Śre.*		*Prāgvāṭa*			Ibid. 221.
461.	*Vālaharā*, f. of *Mahipāla*	*Mahaṁ*		-do-			IA. xviii. 113.
462.	*Vāliga*	Writer		*Kāysatha*	*Stambhapura* (?)	V.S. 1288	Girnar, RLARBP. 331.
463.	*Valahala*	*Śre.* (*Mahājana*)			*Ṭimvānaka*		IA. xi. 337.
464.	*Vālāka*, s. of *Gauradevī*		Jain			V.S. 1299	EI. ii. 29, Roha N. Guj.
465.	*Vanarā*(ja), s. of *Meghā*			*Geḍiā Rāiitta*		V.S. 1282	Palanpur, EI. II. 28.
466.	*Vanadevī* s. of *Tejaḥpāla*					V.S. 1296	BPSI. 174.
467.	*Vāpala Gājaṇa*		Jain	*Śrīmāla*		V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 221.

PERSONAL NAME	PROFESSION OR DESIGNATION	RELIGION	CASTE	RESIDENCE	TIME	LOCALITY AND REFERENCE
468. *Śrī Vāpanadeva*	*Mahāmaṇḍaleśevara*			Godrahaka	*Jayasiṁha.* V.S. 1196	IA. xi. 159-60.
469. Varadeva, s. of *Sāṭā*	*Mahā* (jani) and *Go.*	Jain	*Uesavāla*	*Brahmāṇa*	V.S. 1287	EI. viii. 220.
470. *Vastuplāa*, s. of *Īsarāja*	*Mahaṁ.*	-do-	*Prāgvāṭa*	*Aṇahilapura*	-do-	Ibid. 210.
471. *Vaṭeśvara*, f. of Kekkaka	Writer		*Kāyastha*		*Bhīma* I, V.S. 1120.	EI. xxi. 172.
472. -do-	-do-				*Bhīma* I, V.S. 1086	IA. vi. 194.
473. -do- s. of *Kāṅcana*	-do-		*Kāyastha*		*Siṁha* 93	IA. xviii. 110.
474. *Śrī Vatsarāja*, s. of *Yoga-siṁha*, f. of *Pratāpsiṁha*	*Mahāmaṇḍalika*				*Sāraṅgadeva*	IA. 41.203.
475. *Śrī Vaïjāka*	*Daṇḍanāyaka*			Ruling at *Naḍḍulapura*	*Kumārapāla*, V.S. 1210	PO. 1.2.44.
476. *Śrī* Vaijaladeva	*Mahāmaṇḍaleśevara*		*Cāhuyāna*-anvaya (family)	Ruling *Narmadā taṭa-maṇḍala*	*Ajayapāla*, V.S. 1231	IA. xviii. 82-4.
477. Vaijala, f. of *Ṭha*, *Śrī Kumaraṇa*			*Moḍha*		*Mūlarāja* II, V.S. 1232	Imp. Ins. and HIG. III. 73.

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